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Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

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Selections.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. SHANNON AND THE MEXICAN MINISTER OF STATE.

To his Excellency, M. C. Rejon, Minister of Foreign Relations, &c. of the Mexican Republic:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MEXICO, Nov. 8th, 1844.

The note of his Excellency, M. C. Rejon, Minister, &c. of the 6th instant, is of such a character as to leave the undersigned no alternative but to announce to the Supreme Government of Mexico that it, together with the note of his Excellency of the 31st ultimo, will be immediately referred to his Government for their further instructions, and that unless they are withdrawn, all further official intercourse between the undersigned and the Government of Mexico must be suspended until those instructions are received.

The undersigned has too much self-respect, and knows too well what is due to his Government, to make any reply to the charges made in his Excellency's note of the 31st ultimo, and reiterated in a manner so offensive in his note of the 6th instant, for the purpose of vindicating the honor or character of the people or Goverment of the United States. During the six y-nine years that that Government has been in successful operation, it has discharged its international duties, and performed its obligations, both to its own citizens and to other nations, with a fidelity, honor, and integrity, that command the respect of all the Governments of the civilized world. Its measures and policy in its intercourse with all nations has been open, frank, and undisguised, "demanding nothing but what is right, and submitting to nothing that is wrong." It stands vindicated in the purity, integrity, and fidelity, which have characterized its brilliant national career, and commands the confidence and respect of the civilized world. If the Government of Mexico constitutes an exception to this truth, the Government of the United States, to whom the undersigned will refer the notes of his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, knowing what is due to its own character, can, and will correct the erroneous opinion, which is the misfortune of Mexico, by means more efficient than any written refutation by the undersigned, of the calumnies made and reiterated in the notes of Mr. Rejon, would be.

But, inasmuch as the undersigned is forced to believe that the misrepresentations of his note of the 14th ultimo, and the reiteration of the unfounded charges, and unjust imputations against the Government and Southern people of the United States, contained in the notes of his Excellency, are intended to mislead the public opinion of the people of Mexico, and to excite an unjust prejudice in their minds against the Government of the United States; and, inasmuch as his Excellency, in his note of the 6th instant, endeavors to make the people of Mexico believe that the reason why the undersigned did not reply to these unfounded charges and imputations, is not the reason alledged by the undersigned in his note of the 4th instant, but because they are true, and cannot be denied; the undersigned, therefore, avails himself of this occasion to correct his Excellency's misrepresentations of his note of the 14th ultimo, and also to repel the charges and imputations contained in the notes of the 31st ultimo, and the 6th instant; not for the purpose of vindicating the honor or character of his own Government, but that the people of Mexico may be disabused, and that the consequences of the discourteous and unjust conduct of his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, in the premises, may rest with the Government and people of Mexico, who are responsible therefor, and that they may be without apology if they adopt and justify the same.

The undersigned is further induced to do this, because the publication of his Excellency's notes, of the 31st ultimo, and the 6th instant, and the comments of the official newspaper thereupon, leave no doubt as to the purpose for which they were written and published.

The undersigned, in his note of the 14th ultimo, said that the acquisition of Texas had been a policy long cherished, and deemed indispensable to the safety and welfare of the United States, and had accordingly been an object steadily pursued by all parties, and "*made the subject of negotiation by almost every Administration for the last twenty years.*" His Excellency, Mr. Rejon, seized upon this declaration, and says that it has "*just revealed the falsehood with which Mexico has been so long treated;*" and this charge, which the records of his own Government fully disprove, is repeated in all the phases which the most unfair and uncandid sophistry can give it. Did not his Excellency know that almost every Administration of the American Government, for the last twenty years, had endeavored to acquire the claim of Mexico to the territory of Texas? Does he not know that Messrs. Adams and Clay, of whom his Excellency now makes such favorable mention, made two attempts to negotiate with Mexico for the acquisition of Texas; one in 1825, and the other in 1827? And, does he not know also, that the negotiation was afterwards renewed by General Jackson, and Mr. Van Buren, and that President Tyler, after Mexico had lost her right of sovereignty, and Texas had become *de jure* as well as *de facto*, an independent and sovereign power, sought by negotiation to acquire the same territory?

The undersigned repeats: Does not his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, know all these facts? and asks, how can he, knowing them, say that the reference by the undertigned to a fact thus known to all the world, and especially to the Mexican Government, and to Mr. Rejon himself, has "*just revealed the falsehood with which Mexico has been so long treated.*"

There has been no time, during the whole period mentioned, that the Government of Mexico did not know, nor has the Government of the United States at any time during that period attempted to conceal, its desire to acquire Texas. This his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, knows to be true; and yet he makes the charge that the note of the undersigned of the 14th ultimo, has "*just revealed*" it, and it would persuade the Mexican people, that the Government and people of the United States have for twenty years entertained a secret purpose, and resorted to improper means for the acquisition of Texas, and that to him belongs the honor and the credit of having discovered the proof, and vindicated the right of Mexico, and when told that such a charge is unjust, an unfounded misrepresentation of what the undersigned had said, the same charge is again repeated in the note of the 6th instant, in terms even more offensive. The undersigned cannot believe that his Excellency does not know that the fact that the acquisition of Texas "has been made the subject of negotiation by almost every Administration for the last twenty years," is no argument to prove that the Government of the United States has treated Mexico with "falsehood," or attempted to acquire Texas by artifice or improper means; and he is therefore compelled to believe that the use made of that fact, as stated in his note of the 14th, is a misrepresentation, intended to create a false impression on the minds of the people of Mexico, and to create a prejudice against the Government and Southern people of the United States; and he regrets that his Excellency finds in the present condition of the Government of people of Mexico, anything to justify a proceeding so flagrant and unjust.

The belief that the misrepresentations of the note of the undersigned was intentional, and that the charges and imputations founded thereupon, were made for the purpose of creating an unjust prejudice in the minds of the people of Mexico against the Government and people of the United States, is further confirmed by the manner in which his Excellency has referred to General Jackson, and the fact that his Excellency has made a false quotation, or, what is equivalent thereto, a palpable misrepresentation of his official communication to the Congress of the United States.

His Excellency asks if President Jackson, "in a message which he addressed to the Chamber of Representatives, in December, 1836, and this when it was proposed to recognize the independence of Texas," did not confess that such an act would "*be regarded as a grievous injustice to Mexico, and that the United States would be subject to the blackest censure for it, inasmuch as the Texans had emigrated from thence, and sought their recognition with the manifest intention of obtaining their incorporation with the United States.*"

The undersigned has examined the official documents, and can find no message of President Jackson, containing the language imputed to him. Why does his Excellency impute to President Jackson language which he did not utter? The answer is found in the character given to General Jackson, and the use made by Mr. Rejon of the false quotation. The purpose was to charge the United States with endeavoring "*to give to the occupation of Texas a turn which would take from it the odium of a barefaced usurpation,*" and to introduce President Jackson as a witness to prove the charge in its most odious aspect. To give greater weight to the language imputed to President Jackson, his Excellency says, that he was "one of the warmest partisans of Annexation, against whom grave charges have been made of having sent General Houston to Texas to realize his designs;" at the same time saying that he was "forced by a regard to truth and justice to confess," that "*to recognize the independence of Texas would be regarded as a grievous injustice to Mexico, and that the United States would be subject to the blackest censure for it.*"

Does not his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, by misquoting President Jackson, imputing to him that which he did not say, by way of giving greater effect to the charge which his Excellency makes against the United States, furnish the most conclusive proof that he himself believes the charges, as made by himself, to be untrue? For who can for a moment believe that if his Excellency could have sustained the charge made by him by a fair and true quotation, he would have adopted one so unfair and incorrect? To believe this would be suppose that his Excellency prefers to sustain the charges, which he feels called upon to make against the United States, by falsehood rather than by truth—an imputation which the undersigned cannot make—and he therefore assumes that his Excellency, Mr. Rejon attributed language to President Jackson which he knew that President Jackson did not utter; because, under the peculiar circumstances in which he is placed, he believes that it is for the "interests" of the Government of Mexico to make the unjust charges against the Government and Southern people of the United States, which are made in the notes of his Excellency, and because he knows that the truth will not sustain the charges which it is the purpose of his Excellency's notes to make. The undersigned is the more inclined to this belief, because it is apparent that the purpose is to persuade the Mexican people of the truth of the charges, to establish which this question was made, and because few of the Mexican people, in the minds of whom it was the purpose of his Excellency's note to impress these charges, can, by comparing the quotation with the message of President Jackson, detect the imposition thus practised upon them.

His Excellency, Mr. Rejon, admits that "the first colonists established themselves in that territory by grants from the Spanish Government, confirmed after the independence of Mexico by the authority of this Republic, and afterwards by similar grants made by the State of Coahuila and Texas, competently authorized to make them"—and yet refers to the fact that those who figured as principals in the declaration and act of independence, and that the General and others who fought under the standard of Texas in the battle of San Jacinto, were almost all natives of the United States, and that aid of men, arms, and other munitions and provisions of war were furnished by citizens of the United States, to prove "the Declaration of the Independence of Texas, and the demand for its annexation to the United States to be the work of the Government of the latter and its citizens, interested in making an acquisition that for twenty years they have considered indispensable to the safety and welfare of that Republic."

That the citizens of the United States had the right to emigrate to Texas, and that, having emigrated and become citizens of Texas, they had a right to take part in any public proceedings, affecting their rights and interests, and that those who did not emigrate had the right to furnish to those who did, arms, provisions, and other munitions of war; and that all this might have been done in such a manner as to furnish no grounds whatever for the charge which his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, makes against the Government of the United States, his Excellency knows, or ought to know. Not to know this would be to argue that he was ignorant, not only of the laws and Constitution of the United States, but of the law of nations, and of the history of his own country, and of the aid in men, money, arms, and munitions of war which Mexico herself received from the United States, and which contributed so much to achieve her independence. To this branch of the argument, therefore, the undersigned will make no reply, because the people of Mexico must be as ignorant as his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, affects to be, if they can be induced to believe it.

To that branch of this proposition that charges that, because those who figured as principals in the declaration of independence, and who conquered in the battle of San Jacinto, were natives of the United States, therefore the declaration of independence, and the demand for Annexation was the work of the Government of the United States, it is enough to reply, that, although they were natives of the United States, they had been invited to Texas, as is admitted by Mr. Rejon himself, first by the Government of Spain, next by Mexico, and then by the State of Coahuila and Texas, competently authorized to do so; that Mr. Rejon knows, or ought to know, that the Government of the United States contributed, in nowise whatsoever, to induce the Governments of Spain or of Mexico, or of Coahuila and Texas to give that invitation; and that he also knows that the declaration of independence and the application by the people of Texas to be annexed to the United States was the consequence of the measures adopted by the Government of Mexico, over which the Government of the United States exercised no control, and in which it had no agency whatsoever.

As well might his Excellency argue that the Government of Spain instituted the revolution in Mexico, because many of those who took part in that revolution were native Spaniards or their descendants, or that the Government of Mexico instigated the resistance made in Zacatecas and other States of the Mexican Confederacy to the Government of General Santa Anna, because those who took part in that resistance were native Mexicans, as to alledge that the Government of the United States, instigated the Independence of Texas, because those who made the declaration were natives of the United States.

The undersigned repeats, that to make such a charge argues an utter ignorance of the history of Mexico, or a deliberate purpose of making a false charge against the Government of the United States.

The emigration from the United States to Texas, under the authority of Spain, which was afterwards ratified by Mexico herself, commenced in 1821. The resistance to the acts of the Mexican Government, which led to the Declaration of Independence, may be said to have commenced in 1832, with the affairs of Anahuac, Velasco, and Nacogdoches; but it was a resistance to the usurpations of Bustamente, and the undersigned does not believe that, much as his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, is now interested in establishing the unfounded charge, he will venture to assert, in the face of the civilized world, that the Government of the United States had any agency whatever in those proceedings; for the inhabitants of Texas, who took part in them, declared for Santa Anna, whose avowed purpose was to support the Constitution of 1824; and Gen. Mexia, who was sent by Gen. Santa Anna to Texas, for the purpose of restoring order, finding the "*Constitution of* 1824" triumphant, and the whole people rejoicing in the downfall of Bustamente and the elevation of Gen. Santa Anna, then the professed advocate of that Constitution, and confided in as a friend of liberty, professed himself most agreeably surprised, and awarded his cordial approbation to all that had been done.

That there may not be further cavil on this point, and to prove that the Government of Mexico, and not the Government of the United States, is responsible for the proceedings in Texas, which resulted in the Declaration of Independence, and the subsequent application to be annexed to the United States, the undersigned refers to the well-known facts of Mexican history; and to show the state of things on which the Government of the United States recognized the independence of Texas, the undersigned refers his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, to the report made by a special agent sent by President Jackson to ascertain and report upon the condition and facts in relation to the independence of Texas. The following are extracts from that report:

"The present political condition of Texas has been produced by a series of alledged aggressions upon the laws of colonization; a refusal upon the part of Mexico to protect the colonial settlements from the depredations of the Indian tribes; by laws excluding citizens of the United States of the North from admission into the country; by a refusal to incorporate this province into the federal system, as provided by the Constitution; and, finally, by the establishment of a Central or Consolidated Government, and the destruction of the Constitution itself. Such are the reasons assigned by the old inhabitants, with whom I have conversed, for the separation of this State from Mexico.

"The history of the events leading to the revolution, as I find it in the public documents, is this: In 1824, a Convention was held by representatives from all the provinces, and a federal system and Constitution adopted, by which all Mexico became a Republic. Texas at that time did not contain the required population to become a State, but was provisionally united with the neighboring province of Coahuila, to form the State of Coahuila and Texas, until the latter should possess the necessary elements to form a separate State for herself. This law was understood and intended to guarantee to the latter a specific political existence as soon as she should be in a condition to exercise it.

"In 1833, the inhabitants having ascertained that their numbers were equal to most, and exceeded several of the old States, and that the resources of the country were such as to constitute the required elements for a State, they held a Convention and formed a Constitution upon the principles of that of the Mexican Republic. This was presented to the General Congress, with a petition to be admitted into the Union. The application was rejected and the delegates imprisoned.

"In 1834, the Constitutional Congress was dissolved by a military order of the President, Santa Anna, before the expiration of its appointed term, and in the following year a new Congress was assembled, by virtue of another military order which is said to have been 'aristocratical, ecclesiastical, and central in its politics.' Numerous applications were made, by meetings of the citizens, and by some of the State Legislatures, to restore the Constitution and Federal Government, and protests were presented against the subversion of the laws; but they were disregarded, and in many instances the authors were persecuted and imprisoned.

"The Central Government deposed the Constitutional Vice President, without trial, elected another in his place, united the Senate and House of Representatives in one chamber, and, thus constituted, declared itself invested with all the powers of a legitimate Convention. Under this assumption, it abolished the Federal Constitution and established a Consolidated Government.

"In September, 1835, Gen. Cos invaded the province of Texas by land, with orders to disarm the citizens, and require an unconditional submission to the Central Military Government, under penalty of expulsion from the country. At the same time all the ports were declared to be in a state of blockade, and a military force having been sent to Gonzales, to require from the citizens a surrender of their arms, a battle ensued, which terminated in the retreat of the Mexicans.

"The Texans assert that this resistance was not because they even *then* wished to separate from the Confederacy; but, on the contrary, because they were desirous to bring back the Government to the terms of the Constitution of 1824.

"They, therefore, held a Convention at San Philippe, in November, 1835, composed of fifty-six representatives from all the municipalities, in which they declared that, as Santa Anna and other military chieftains had, by force of arms, overthrown the federal institutions of Mexico, and dissolved the social compact which existed between Texas and the other members of the Confederacy, they had taken up arms against the encroachments of military despots and in defence of the Constitution.

"This was considered as an absolute separation from Mexico, and on the 2d of March, 1836, delegates of the people from all the districts, declared Texas a 'free, sovereign, and independent State.'"

In communicating this report to Congress, President Jackson, referring to the recognition of the independence and application of Texas to be annexed to the United States, advised that the Government of the United States should maintain its then "present attitude, if not until Mexico herself, or one of the great foreign powers should recognize the independence of the new Government, at least until the lapse of time or the course of events should have proved, beyond cavil or dispute, the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty, or to uphold the Government constituted by them."

Such was the language of President Jackson. The contingencies contemplated by him have been accomplished. The independence of Texas has been acknowledged by more than one of the great foreign powers, and eight years have elapsed, and Texas, during all that time, has proved "beyond cavil or dispute, her ability to maintain her separate sovereignty." During the greater part of that time, her proposition for Annexation was pending before the Government of the United States, and yet such was the respect for the Government of Mexico, and such the desire to preserve its friendship and good will, that although no one could believe that the Government of Mexico could reconquer Texas, and although the acquisition of Texas has been "the subject of negotiation by almost every administration for the last twenty years," the Government of the United States has forborne to agree to the proposition for Annexation, until in the progress of events, new circumstances, connected with negotiations between the Governments of England and Mexico, forbade any farther delay.

For farther proof that the Declaration of the Independence of Texas was the work of the Government of Mexico, and not of the Government of the United States, the undersigned refers to the admission made by Senor Rejon himself, that the revolt, as he terms it, in Texas, was occasioned by the refusal of the Mexican Government to approve of the Constitution adopted by the people of Texas for the purpose of becoming one of the Confederated Mexican States, and by the decree abolishing Slavery, and the measures adopted by the Mexican Government to compel them "to comply with laws which they despised."

His Excellency admits that the Government of Spain first invited citizens of the United States to Texas, and that the Government of Mexico renewed that invitation by tendering large tracts of land. These invitations were accompanied with pledges of protection for persons and property, and the Mexican Government should have foreseen that natives of the United States, well informed as to what their rights were, and accustomed to a Government in which just laws and good faith prevail, would resist the attempt of the Mexican Government to subvert the Constitutional Government and laws, and it is therefore manifest from this statement of the case, that their removal to Texas, and their Declaration of Indepence was the work of the Government of Mexico, and not of the United States, as is unjustly charged by his Excellency.

The undersigned refers to these facts as conclusive, not only to disprove the calumnies against the Government of the United States, which it is the purpose of his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, to impress upon the people of Mexico, but also to show that in forbearing to accept the Annexation of Texas, for so long a period, when tendered by those who alone had the right to do so, and who had achieved her independence of Mexico, and in renewing the assurance "that it is now adopted in no spirit of hostility to Mexico, and that, if Annexation is consummated, the United States will be prepared to adjust all questions growing out of it, including that of boundary, on the most liberal terms," his Government has given the strongest proofs of a desire to preserve the relations of peace and good will with the Government and people of Mexico; and the undersigned takes this occasion to say that should those relations be disturbed, or should the Government of Mexico fail hereafter to receive the compensation which the Government of the United States, for the sake of preserving those relations, would willingly have given for a territory over which Mexico does not now, and cannot hereafter, exercise a jurisdiction, the Mexican people must charge the loss which they will thus sustain to his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, and the Government by whose order his notes of the 31st ultimo, and the 6th instant were written.

His Excellency makes an elaborate comment, the purport of which is to induce a belief that the Government of the United States is about to seize upon the territory of Texas upon the ground that "it was embraced in the cession of Louisiana by France to the United States in 1803, and was improperly surrendered by the Treaty of 1819." In reply to all his Excellency has said on this subject it is sufficient to say that the United States do not seek, and never have sought, the acquisition of Texas on any such pretence, and that the undersigned made the remark, which his Excellency has quoted, and of which he has made an use so unfair, and uncandid, in connection with the fact that "a large portion of the territory lies in the valley of the Mississippi, and is indespensable to the defence of a distant, weak, and important frontier," as a reason why his Government seeks to acquire Texas, not by seizing it under a pretence of right under the Treaty of 1803, as his Excellency would persuade the people of Mexico to believe, but by negotiation, first from Mexico and now from Texas. And the undersigned cannot forbear to express his surprise and regret that his Excellency, by quoting a part, and suppressing the material part of what the undersigned had said, and using the part thus unfairly quoted for the purpose of creating an unjust and unfounded prejudice in the minds of the Mexican people against the Government and Southern people of the United States, has given another proof, not to be misunderstood, of his desire to foment hostilities between the two countries; for his Excellency must know that the remarks of the undersigned furnish no justification for the comment made thereupon, and the purpose of suppressing the material part thereof is palpable; for at the same time that his Excellency labors to impress upon the people of Mexico a belief that the undersigned had admitted that the people of the United States were about to seize upon the territory of Texas, under the pretence of a claim under the treaty of 1803, his Excellency must have known that the remarks of the undersigned did not warrant the construction which his Excellency endeavored to give them, and he also knew that the United States set up no such pretence of claim as it was the purpose of his comment to charge upon them.

His Excellency Mr Rejon also states that the people of Texas were bound to submit to the form of Government adopted by the other States, and inasmuch as they did not do so, he claims the right in Mexico to treat them as rebels, and to wage a war of extermination against them. The undersigned is by no means willing to concede the proposition of his Excellency, Mr. Rejon, and much less to agree to his conclusion. It must be recollected that the Spanish provinces embraced in Mexico, declared and achieved their independence of the Spanish crown, and in 1824 established a Confederation of States, similar in all respects to the United States. Coahuila and Texas formed one of the Confederated Mexican States, and was sovereign and independent, except so far as she had delegated to the General Government a portion of her sovereign powers. She was entitled to, and enjoyed her own local Legislature, and was only bound to the General Government according to the express terms of the Constitution of 1824. When the army, therefore, destroyed that Constitution, the State of Coahuila and Texas was remitted to its original sovereignty, and the Constitution of 1824, which bound the States together, being destroyed, and consequently Texas, owing no allegiance to that which had no existence, was left free to choose and adopt her own form of Government as best suited her interests. The other States had no right to force upon her a form of Government of which she did not approve, and much less had the army, without consulting the will of the people, the right to do so. It follows, therefore, that as Texas never agreed to the present Government of Mexico, which was established by the army on the ruins of the Constitution of 1824, the present Government of Mexico, in seeking to subjugate Texas, is now, and has been from the first, the aggressor.

His Excellency complains that the undersigned has been wanting in courtesy, and to justify that complaint, alledges that he applied the term "barbarous" to the Government of Mexico. If his Excellency will do the undersigned the justice to re-perruse the note of the 14th ultimo, he will find that the term "barbarous" was applied to the manner in which it was proposed to prosecute the war against Texas, and not to the Government of Mexico. Of that war, of the manner in which it is declared Mexico will carry it on, and of the reasons assigned therefor, the undersigned forbears to speak, because he could not do justice to his own feelings and at the same time use terms sufficiently respectful to the Government of Mexico.

The undersigned renews, &c.

(Signed) WILSON SHANNON.

From the Liberator.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN CONCORD, N. H.

Pursuant to a call from the Executive Committee of the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, a Convention was held in the Town Hall of Concord, commencing on Friday, the 29th of November, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

The morning session was mainly occupied with remarks on the condition, character, and prospects of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, by James Morrison, David M. Folsom, Abby Kelley, and others. At half past 12, the Convention adjourned till 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Afternoon Session.—Discussion resumed by William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Edmund Quincy.

At 4 o'clock the President of the State Society, Benjamin Comings, of Cornish, took the chair, and Jane E. Hitchcock was appointed Secretary *pro tem.*

It was then voted to choose, by nomination, a committee to investigate the difficulties existing between the Executive Committee of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society and John R. French, publisher of the Herald of Freedom, and report to the Convention the results of their examination. The following persons were appointed:—William Lloyd Garrison, James Morrison, Parker Pillsbury, Wendell Phillips, David M. Folsom, Edmund Quincy, Anne Warren Weston, Louisa W. Wood, and Mrs. E. Wyatt. Caroline T. Farrand and Frances F. Rogers were also chosen but declined the appointment.

The Convention then adjourned till to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, to attend the Anti-Slavery Collation and Fair in the evening, at Grecian Hall.

Saturday—Morning Session.—Met pursuant to adjournment. Wendell Phillips introduced a series of resolutions, repudiating the United States Constitution and the Union, and calling on the Abolitionists to renounce their allegiance to the government, so long as it retains its present pro-slavery character. [The resolutions were unfortunately mislaid.] They were sustained with great power of reasoning by the mover and Edmund Quincy.

At half-past 12, the Convention adjourned.

Afternoon Session.—Met according to adjournment. The President in the chair. The discussion was resumed on Mr. Phillips's resolutions, by Benjamin Chase, D. M. Folsom, and Mr Phillips.

At half-past 3 o'clock, the Committee to whom were referred the difficulties between the Executive Committee and the publisher of the Herald of Freedom, presented the following

REPORT.

The Committee, to whom has been referred the existing difficulty which has unhappily arisen between the printer of the Herald of Freedom and the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, in regard to the ownership of that paper, and also to the types and press on which it has been printed, beg leave to report—

That they have felt, for many years, and continue to feel, the deepest interest in the welfare of the Herald,—especially since its editorial department has been conducted by its present gifted and uncompromising editor,—as a powerful auxiliary to the Anti-Slavery cause, and that we should regard its discontinuance as a serious calamity, or the retirement of Mr. Rogers from its editorship as matter of sincere regret:

That though, in the discussion of the points in controversy, the editor has espoused the side of the printer of the Herald, his own manner of editing the paper is not in any degree involved, as no complaint on that ground appears to have been made, at any time, either by the Board or the Society, or by any tangible body of abolitionists in the State or elsewhere:

That though there appears to be an honest difference of opinion among the friends of our cause in New-Hampshire, as to the utility of Anti-Slavery organizations, it has no connection with the present disagreement:

That the simple and only question is, in whom the property of the Herald is rightfully invested, and under whose control is it lawfully placed:

That being the friends of all the parties in this controversy, and desirous of seeing it settled on an amicable and just basis, without respect of persons, your Committee have endeavored to ascertain all the facts in the case, by an examination of the authentic records of the State Society and its Board of Managers, and of the columns of the Herald of Freedom, and by giving a full and impartial hearing to the parties specially implicated:

That they, therefore, feel themselves qualified, on the evidence thus submitted to them, to form an impartial and sound decision with regard to the question at issue:

That, without deeming it necessary in this Report to present that evidence, in all its details, to the public, (and referring all who are interested in this matter to the Address of the Board of Managers, published in the Herald of Freedom, as giving a concise and substantially accurate statement of the FACTS and PROCEEDINGS in the case,) they are unanimously agreed in the opinion, that the right and title to the sub-scription list of the Herald belong exclusively to the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, and therefore the absolute control of the editing and printing of that paper:

That, with the exception of Mr. Folsom and Mr. Morrison,—who are in doubt whether the donors, by whose liberality these materials were purchased, are not the rightful owners,—they are equally decided in the opinion, that the types and press, on which the Herald is now printed, are held in trust for, and are the property of, the State Society:

That the arrangements made, from time to time, between the Board and the editor and printer, for the editing and printing of the Herald, appear from the records to have been uniformly satisfactory to all the parties, and made in good faith, in intelligible terms, and in an economical manner;

That the spirit by which the Board has been actuated toward the Herald, in all its concerns, appears to have been most friendly and praiseworthy:

That, with regard to the course pursued by the printer of the Herald, for the last year or two, in disregard of the wishes of the Board, and of a written contract for the printing of the paper, your Committee are unanimously agreed in the opinion, that it has been marked by indiscretion, a want of prudence, and a false view of his duties and obligations, and is, therefore, censurable solely on that ground; but they are also unanimously satisfied, that Mr. French has not been actuated by any dishonest intentions, or any wish or desire to injure the Anti-Slavery cause, but has acted under the conviction that his own plans would best subserve the interests of that cause, to which he has been so long and so faithfully devoted, and also the prosperity and usefulness of the Herald of Freedom:

That, however, in case he shall persist in refusing to comply with the wishes of the Board, respecting the printing of the Herald, such refusal will, in the opinion of the Committee, justly subject him to the charge of acting in a dishonorable and unwarrantable manner; but they trust he will be disposed, promptly and magnanimiously, to acknowledge his errors of judgment, and consent to an equitable adjustment of this unpleasant difficulty, that thus all wounds may be healed, all prejudices allayed, and the friends of the Herald may again be united for its support:

That, as certain grave charges have been brought, both by the editor and printer of the Herald, against the conduct of Stephen S. Foster, in connection with this dispute,—greatly to his disparagement as a disinterested and sincere friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, and also of the Herald,—your Committee feel in duty bound to exonerate him from those charges, believing them to be highly detrimental to his character and usefulness, and founded in misapprehension, if not in personal alienation:

That, in conclusion, the Committe think a considerable share of blame attaches to the State Society, and to its Board of Managers, for the defective manner in which their records have been kept, and their proceedings conducted; though not affecting the merits of the question on which an opinion has been expressed.

All which is respectfully submitted.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
EDMUND QUINCY,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
D. M. FOLSOM,
JAMES MORRISON,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

On motion of Luther Melendy, of Amherst, the Report of the Committee was accepted.

A discussion on the Report was then commenced between John R. French and Wendell Phillips, which continued with deep interest until after dark, when a motion was made by Parker Pillsbury, and carried, to lay the subject on the table, to be made the order of the day to-morrow forenoon. The Convention then adjourned for one hour.

Evening Session.—Met according to adjournment. The chair was taken by the President, and Parker Pillsbury was chosen Secretary *pro tem.*

John R. French then moved to reconsider the vote, making the subject of the Herald of Freedom the order of the day for to-morrow forenoon, on the ground, as he said, that, in his opinion, it was the intention of the Convention to avoid a decision on the main question. Stephen S. Foster hoped the motion of Mr. French would not prevail; not that he wished to avoid bringing the question to an issue, and that, too, at a time when the largest number of Abolitionists would be present, for he should *insist* on such a decision; but he thought the very large audience present would not be interested in the discussion, nor profited by it. Parker Pillsbury agreed with Mr. Foster, that the audience might not be interested in the discussion, but he thought, as the Convention had been called *mainly* to consider the case of the Herald, and as one of the parties concerned had called for the introduction of the subject at this time, he had a right to insist on a compliance with his demand. The motion prevailed without farther debate.

Mr. French then made some remarks to show that, in his view, the difficulty was not with the publisher, but with the editor of the Herald. He declared that a determination had existed for years, in certain quarters, *to overthrow the Herald or to confine it to certain traces*—and that a delegation had now come from Massachusetts, to control the editor, or drive him from his post, as they had already driven him from the National Anti-Slavery Standard. [!!!]

David Folsom asked leave to read a lengthy communication in yesterday's Herald, from the editor, now at Plymouth. When he had concluded, Mr. Foster made a defence of the course pursued by the Executive Committee, and read extracts from the files of the Herald and the Society's records, to prove that the Herald of Freedom was the property of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society; and called for the reading again of the Report of the Committee. The Report was read by Wendell Phillips, who also submitted some statements and extracts from the records of the Society, to prove the claims of the Society to the Herald.

At a late hour, on motion of Edmund Quincy, voted to adjourn till 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Sunday, December 1st—Morning Session—The Convention met in Grecian Hall. The forenoon was occupied in discussion on the question of ownership of the Herald—John R. French, James Morrison, Wendell Phillips, Benjamin Comings, and S. S. Foster participating.

At half-past 12, Convention adjourned.

Afternoon Session—2 o'clock.—Convention met pursuant to adjournment, and the discussion on the Herald was resumed by David Folsom, Parker Pillsbury, Luther Melendy, James Morrison, Edmund Quincy, and S. S. Foster; after which, the following resolutions were offered by Wendell Phillips, and passed with great unanimity, the last two unanimously:

1. Resolved, That this Society is convinced that the Herald of Freedom, both its subscription list and its press and types, are the property of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society.

2. Resolved, That this Society learns with great satisfaction, that the Board of Managers still remain in the mind they have heretofore been, and disposed to continue the present individuals as editor and printer of the Herald of Freedom; and that their only wish is, to put the printing of the paper on a settled basis.

3. Resolved, That this Society urgently requests the Board of Managers to take all possible measures to secure a continuance of the services of N. P. Rogers as editor of the Herald, and of J. R. French as printer; and to make such an arrangement with Mr. French as will secure him a liberal remuneration.

The Convention then adjourned to meet at the Town Hall, at half-past six o'clock this evening.

Evening Session.—Convention met, and was addressed in a most eloquent and able manner by Edmund Quincy and Wendell Phillips.

The Convention then adjourned without day.

BENJAMIN COMINGS, *President.*
J. H. ELA, *Secretary.*

From the Boston Chronicle.

LETTER FROM DELIA. A. WEBSTER

LEXINGTON, Oct. 12, 1844.

REV. HARVEY F. LEAVITT: *Dearly Beloved Pastor:*—It is with feelings more easily imagined than described that I now take up my pen to address you. The present moment is with me a moment of thrilling interest. I am not now as I have been for the last thirteen months, principal of the Lexington Academy. I am not now engaged in the capacity of teacher, that most pleasing and delightful of all employments. I am, believe me, *I am a prisoner.* Yes, Sir; your daughter Delia is at this awful moment within the confines of the *city jail.* "For *what?*" methinks you eagerly inquire. All this for *what?* For *nothing*, I reply. "Then why," (you ask) "a lady, an uprotected and defenceless female in a distant clime, twelve hundred miles from home—from friends—from an aged doating father—from a beloved mother—from fond sisters—from an only brother—from all her heart holds dear; surrounded alone by strangers; why shut up in close confinement within those heavy locks, iron bars, and prison walls; and this too in an enlightened country—in a land of gospel light and liberty? Impossible."

Ah! my reverend Sir—I am cruelly suspected of being *tinctured* with the *foul blot of Abolitionism.* Do you ask if I *have* changed my sentiments? *No, Sir, I have not;* and I thought my reputation too well established, my character too well known, to admit of suspicion. Have often frankly declared my sentiments in this community. It is well known that I favor colonization. It has been known ever since I came here. I have had no disposition to conceal it. But have often told the people that I thought *our own beloved New England* enjoyed a more eminent degree of *piety*, and was *far happier* in *every respect* than the South; and I believe it still, and still will I declare it, and these gates and bars, and prison walls, shall reverberate my sentiments; and if I am punished for believing what I do, and must believe, or for not believing what I cannot believe, I will suffer. But, *thank God*, though the liberty of these feeble, defenceless limbs be trammelled, my conscience is free.

On one occasion, (perhaps when over-excited,) I remarked in company, that if all the black population could be banished from our loved country, I would cheerfully go myself to the wild and desert shores of Africa to teach them that they have immortal souls. This was, perhaps, an imprudent remark. If so, pardon me. It is the only one I am guilty of. At the time I felt it, and even now I know not that I am prepared to recall it.

But to the point. It is not for the colonization principles I am imprisoned. I am imagined to be an Abolition agent, sent on here by the New England Abolition Societies, for the express pupose of rendering the black population uneasy and discontented, and for aiding and assisting them in every possible way to elope from bondage. Now, Sir, I protest my innocence. But that does not satisfy them. They place no confidence in my word, but require proof of everything I say.

What renders the case more aggravating, was the circumstances attending my arrest; would give you a full detail had I time; will do it in a future epistle. Suffice it to say, that a Methodist clergyman, named Fairbank, a friend of mine from New-York, was in this country on business; such as to render it important for him to see other ministers, members of the Conference, and frequently to ride into other counties. By request of Mrs. Glass, our landlady, I invited him what time he spent in the city to make a home with us, which invitation was accepted; not, however, without his paying in advance for his board. When the Sabbath came, after church bell rang, he was invited to preach in the first Presbyterian church in this city, of which I am a member. He did so, though without preparation, and was very much eulogized. Indeed, I have heard several citizens remark, that there was never before so good a sermon delivered in Lexington. Two weeks from that day morning, there were three valuable servants missing. A boy named Lewis, aged about twenty-six, with his wife and child. Handbills were *immediately* printed and issued in every direction. Runners were hastily despatched on every road, and three hundred dollars reward offered for their apprehension. The Sabbath and Monday were spent in vain. Not a trace could be found, not a breath heard of them. Till at length they began to leave off caring for the property, and only cared to get hold of whoever it might be that had aided them. By the by, Northern and Eastern persons are always looked upon here with a jealous and suspicious eye; and on Monday evening, between six and seven o'clock, Mr. Fairbank was arrested on suspicion, and committed to jail. Whether he said anything that gave them just ground for suspicion, I cannot say, but have good reason to believe *he did not.*

At eleven o'clock the same night, we were aroused by persons desiring to see all letters and papers in the possession of

had been for the last two years. While others portrayed in living colors the horrors of a life in the penitentiary.

And thus, dear sir, my comforters so kindly me consoled,
As strongly to remind me of the friends of Job of old.

In the course of the day, (Tuesday,) a letter was found among papers in my possession, addressed to me, written, as is supposed, by an Abolitionist. It is on account of this letter that I am retained in custody; and for which, together with being in the company of said minister, I am informed the grand jury of Fayette county court have found a true bill against me; and am now under four indictments, each of which, if found guilty, may sentence me to the penitentiary for the space of twenty years. Do not startle at the thought. I rejoice that our Government is a republican Government. I rejoice that we have laws by which to defend our rights. And Sir, in my present condition, I appeal to the tribunals of my country; and though these are imperfect, though innocence is not always a buckler, you will be gratified to hear that I ask no mercy. *All I want is justice.*

If the news of my arrest has reached your city, you will please read this epistle to my parents and friends (to others if you choose); if it has not, then fold it inviolate in your own breast; for I cannot endure the idea of paining their minds with unwelcome intelligence. I did hope to keep it from them entirely, but it has been noticed in all the papers in this vicinity, (and I understand in no two alike.) It will probably soon come out in eastern prints. I will send you our city papers.

I suppose you would like to know how I enjoy my new home. It is, Sir, a very pleasant one, being retired from noise and bustle, though near the centre of the city. My room is large and commodious, being nineteen feet by twenty-five. It has two large windows, and a grate for burning stone coal, which is the fuel most commonly used in this country. We have not yet, however, had any weather cold enough to need a fire. I am very contented and happy. Have a fine opportunity for reading and meditation. My food, though not of the plainest kind, has a good relish, and digests well. My sleep was never more sweet or refreshing. My dreams never more pleasant. I dance a little every day, which is the only exercise I have, except making my own bed, and sweeping my room. In fine, I believe a prison life agrees with me. My health is excellent, better than it has been at any time before, during the last ten years. Am uniformly cheerful and in good spirits; so much so, that I seem to be a novelty to all my visitors.

I have twenty fellow-prisoners. Their situation is truly distressing, being all crowded into two small filthy dungeons—destitute of beds and other comforts. Mr. Fairbank is *heavily ironed*, and in a small dungeon, with fifteen others, *mostly blacks*. Two of his companions are to be executed in a few days.

It is fortunate for the present, that we are in prison, for public excitement is raging to such a height, that were we let out, I presume it would not be ten minutes before we would be inhumanly butchered in the streets, without judge or jury.

I tell my accusers that I defy them, "all powerful as they are," to find an individual in the State, old or young, black or white, bond or free, that will prove that he *has* or *ever had*, the remotest grounds for *even suspecting* me to be an *Abolitionist*. They will try their best, and I cannot say what they may accomplish, for it is my candid opinion, there are hundreds in this vicinity who would in the twinkling of an eye testify to anything, *no matter what*, for the sake of money, or if they thought perchance there was a *possibility* that by their oaths punishment might rest on the head of an Abolitionist.

But whatever they do, I am still their friend. Kentuckians little know the friendship they are abusing. This gallant State is not aware of the strength of my attachment. She little thinks that she has a warm-hearted friend and advocate in her inoffensive, submissive prisoner. And though I am doomed, through mistaken apprehensions, to finish out my three-score years in yonder den of criminals and felons, still, Sir, *I love Kentucky;* and would as cheerfully and heartily do anything in my power for her happiness and prosperity, as though it were *my own dear native land;* and long after this heart has ceased its vibrations—long after these lips are cold in death—and after this hand has ceased to move, may this testify to the *manly bravery, noble generosity, zealous patriotism, and chivalry of proud Kentucky.*

I shall have my trial some time between this and March. The Judge has given me permission to select any day I choose, and he will hold a special term of the Court for that purpose. As the public sentiment, which I am very sorry to say, is against me, I shall defer my trial for a while until the heat of the excitement shall have subsided. My bail is *five thousand dollars.* You see from this that they think me of *no little consequence.* Mr. Fairbank's bail is the same; making their prize of ten thousand dollars value. I am informed Kentucky was never so fortunate before as to get hold of an Abolitionist; and that they now intend *our punishment shall so satiate the North and East* that *no more agents will ever be sent* into their borders. Mr. Fairbank has written to Mr. Arthur Tappan, of New-York, for help; also to several others.

Please tell my dear mother (*if she must know it*) not to grieve on my account, nor give herself the least uneasiness. Tell her I have not shed a tear, and why should she weep? The Lord knows what is for the best, and I can patiently wait, firmly believing he will so order all things as shall best promote his glory.

Tell my beloved father it seems to have a very happy influence on the minds of the people, when I tell them that I was not brought up to be an Abolitionist; when I tell them that all such principles are entirely contrary to my training. If they fully believed me in this, if they could know to a certainty that my father is pro-slavery, and had ever been an enemy, and strenuous opposer to the Abolition cause, I have no doubt it would operate greatly to my advantage; but they seem to think, as a matter of course, that all Northern and Eastern persons are *Anti-Slavery.* How vastly they mistake the reality. Also please tell my father, that *Gen. John M. McCalla, a particular friend and patron of mine,* and the celebrated Democratic Elector of this State, together with the famous *Gen. Coombs*, the Whig Elector, and his partner, Mr. Shy, are my counsel.

The *Hon. Henry Clay* has also given me encouragement of appearing in my behalf. If he does, all will be *well*, as he is a great favorite in this community. *All I need now, is funds.* I have only one hundred and fifteen dollars by me. This will not do much towards paying my lawyers. I am advised to employ the Hon. Daniel Webster, but the want of funds prevents my writing to him. The fees of lawyers already employed, amounts to seven hundred and fifty dollars. These expose themselves to great censure for appearing at all on this exciting question.

Now, my dear Mr. Leavitt, I want you and my father, and Br. Baird, and all the rest of you, to set your wits to work to see what can be done for an unfortunate prisoner. I was arrested on the 29th of September. Yours, very respectfully,

D. A. WEBSTER.

MR. BENTON'S ANNEXATION BILL.

The following is a copy of the Bill introduced into the Senate on Wednesday, by Mr. Benton, and now (in company with Mr. McDuffie's Joint Resolution on the same subject) before the Committee on Foreign Relations:—

A Bill to provide for the Annexatin of Texas to the United States.

Be it enacted, &c. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized and advised to open negotiations with Mexico and Texas, for the adjustment of boundaries, and annexation of the latter to the United States, on the following bases, to wit:

I. The boundary of the territory annexed to be in a desert prairie west of the Neuces, and along the highlands and mountain heights which divide the waters of the Mississippi from the waters of the Rio del Norte, and to latitude forty-two degrees north.

II. The people of Texas, by legislative act, or by any authentic act which shows the will of the majority, to express their assent to said annexation.

III. A State, to be called "*the State of Texas*," with boundaries fixed by herself, and an extent not exceeding the largest State in the Union, be admitted into the Union, by virtue of this act, on an equal footing with the original States.

IV. The remainder of the annexed territory to be held and disposed of by the United States as one of their territories, and to be called "*the Southwest Territory.*"

V. The existence of slavery to be forever prohibited in the northern and northwestern part of said territory, west of the 100th degree of longitude west from Greenwich, so as to divide as equally as may be the whole of the annexed country between slaveholding and non-slaveholding States.

VI. The assent of Mexico to be obtained by treaty to such annexation and boundary, or to be dispensed with when the Congress of the United States may deem such assent to be unnecessary.

VII. Other details of the annexation to be adjusted by treaty, so far as the same may come within the scope of the treaty-making power.

CHINESE RELICS.—Among the Chinese no relics are more valued than the boots which have been worn by an upright magistrate.—*Captain Pidding, Ohio.*

Communications.

The Liberty Press.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 6th, 1844.

DEAR BROTHER GAY:—I was very much astonished at seeing in the Standard, two weeks since, an article headed with my name, taken from the above paper, which contained, among other things, a charge against me of "*uttering unqualified untruth*," and a call to retract what I had said, unless I "chose to lie under the imputation of uttering wilful falsehood."

If a statement of the facts be to retract what I said, then here is my retraction. It seems I was mistaken in the *person*—that the man whom I thought was the editor, was the financial agent. I thought I was introduced to Mr. Bailey, but it seems that it was not so. On seeing the article in the Standard, I wrote immediately to Samuel Lightbody, of Utica, for an explanation, for I thought I had had repeated interviews with the editor of the Liberty Press. The following is an extract from the letter in reply, which explains the whole affair:

"There was a mistake in reference to the person you saw at the Anti-Slavery office, but a very natural one. I invited you to go and see Mr. Bailey, the editor of the Liberty Press, whose office is in the same building with that of the Anti-Slavery office—which latter is a room where the Executive Committee hold their meetings, and where they keep their publications for sale. As we were passing the door of this room, I thought we would stop in, as we should be more likely to meet Abolitionists there than in the editor's room. When we entered, we found Alvan Stewart, Dr. Stewart, of Clinton, and George Lawson present. Mr. Lawson has been long connected with the Society as their most active and efficient financial agent—he now has charge of the Anti-Slavery office, and of the publications, and was as proper a person as Mr. Bailey would have been to apply to for the use of Liberty Hall. Had Mr. Bailey inquired of Mr. Lawson, who he probably saw a dozen times every day, the whole matter would have been explained. Whether he did so or not, before writing his article, is known to himself."

I was, it seems, introduced to Mr. Lawson, and thought him to be Mr. Bailey, and thinking so, I acted accordingly—and when the former referred me to the *Whigs* for a hall to lecture in, I gave the latter credit for the deed. This is "the head and front of my offending."

If Mr. Bailey thinks himself aggrieved by having things attributed to him which should attach to Mr. Lawson, I am very sorry I made such a mistake; and if Mr. Lawson feels that injustice has been done to *him*, by supposing that he was Mr. Bailey, the editor of the Liberty Press, I am more than ready to make reparation, if it be in my power. I have now shown how near my statement came to "wilful falsehood." Will brother Bailey do likewise, in relation to the charge which he virtually makes, that I was "engaged in selling Extra Standards to Clay Clubs?" I never sold Extra Standards to *anybody*. I never *gave* Extra Standards to Clay Clubs, nor to *any Whig*, that I am aware of. I am not conscious that I ever gave them to anybody except Abolitionists. I never distributed them at any public meetings, except in two instances, at Cedarville and West Winfield. And at the time when the charge was made, at a former period, in the Liberty Press—that he was "scattering them in his wake wheresoever he goes," I had not given them to more than four individuals, and they all in the city of Utica. When I did distribute the Standards, (and I distributed many,) it was, with the exceptions of the two meetings already mentioned, privately to those whom I thought the best friends of the slave. I do not charge on brother Bailey "wilful falsehood" in the uttering of his assertions. I *hope* it was not so, for his sake. Will he satisfy us that he had a truthful spirit.

In relation to another expression of mine, which has been much found fault with, allow me to ask if it is not a good wish to hope that many may be converted to Anti-Slavery? Then, if there are many in the Liberty Party who are not true Anti-Slavery men, (and who can doubt the fact for a moment,) is it not well to "hope that many of the Liberty Party may be converted to Anti-Slavery?" I used this expression while speaking of the action of the Liberty Party men, who declared it to be right to "deliver up" the fugitive to the torturer—and who had also spoken repeatedly of the folly of discarding the Constitution of the United States, on account of "one *little* imperfection." Do any suppose that such men do not *need* to be converted to Anti-Slavery? If any do, then I hope again that *they* too may be visited with Anti-Slavery light. I do not wish to imply—and it cannot be gathered from my letter—that no man who is attached to the Liberty Party is at heart a true Abolitionist. On the contrary, I *know* that many who belong to that party, are noble, devoted, self-sacrificing men—none more so. But does this prove that the Liberty Party is right, or that there are not thousands who march under its flag, who are restless demagogues, and ruthless destroyers of the right of humanity, men who have assumed the garb of Liberty, only the more effectively to carry out their own ambitious desires.

But the heart of humanity is large, and, therefore, I have hope that even the deceivers of the friends of Liberty may come to merit the name they claim—and also that those in the Liberty Party, who act faithfully *now* to the light which they have, may be brought to see the *whole* truth, and "come out of Babylon, and be not partakers of her sins."

EDWIN FUSSELL.

Will the editor of the Liberty Press please insert this letter in his paper, that I may stand in a true light before its readers. E. F.

Abby Kelley, Elizabeth J. Hitchcock, and Dr. Hudson, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

FRIEND GAY:—As I have had the privilege of attending a few of the first meetings, appointed in this region for our devoted friends, I deem it proper to say a few words relative to the reception they have met with, and the probable influence that will be exerted by their visit among us.

Their first meeting was a Convention, the different sessions of which were held in Pineville-Hall, (a commodious building lately erected for free discussion on all moral and literary subjects, and located within a few miles of the centre of Bucks County.) The state of the roads being at the time the worst they have been this season, seemed very unfavorable to the gathering of a large meeting; but the well-earned fame of our friends drew large audiences at every session of the meeting. Many of our citizens, of both sexes, were anxious to see and hear for themselves, persons of whom they had heard so much, and they were determined that no ordinary obstacles should prevent their attendance.

After some preliminary discussion, it was resolved to hold a *free meeting*—that is, one without any regular organization, in which every one should be allowed perfect freedom for discussion, in propagating sentiments either favorable or inimical to the general objects of the meeting. There was, however, a prevailing view expressed, that two persons should have the responsibility of communicating such particulars relative to the meetings, as might be esteemed of general interest. This task was entrusted to C. C. Burleigh and myself. But, supposing a much more circumstantial and minute account will be given by my friend Burleigh, than I could possibly give, (having necessarily been prevented from attending one of its sessions,) I shall confine my remarks principally to some general views in reference to the character of the speaking of our three visitors from abroad. It appears to me that the kind of lecturing demanded at the present crisis, is that which shall have for its leading object the enforcement of the *great truth* which now stands out in bold relief, as the motto of the American Anti-Slavery Society—"*No Union with Slaveholders!*" The time has passed, in which there would be either necessity or propriety in our lecturers descanting on the inherent sinfulness of Slavery. Our principles on this, and other kindred topics connected with the "Peculiar Institution" have been so widely diffused by the tongue and pen, that I can see no great benefit that can arise from dwelling further upon them. But the kind of appeals now required for the slave, is that fervid and soul-stirring eloquence that can portray in all its bearings the diabolical encroachments of slaveholding power, and the certain participation, in its darkest deeds, of every citizen of the United States, who is not actively engaged to "cry aloud and spare not," by the best means in his power to warn this guilty nation? I had often heard from our Anti-Slavery advocates, very luminous illustrations of the principle of *our* criminal participation in the guilt of slaveholding, and I have left the meetings in which such disquisitions have been held, with a firm conviction of the truthfulness of the sentiment. But never, until listening to our friend Abby Kelley, has my mind been so fully impressed with the *practical importance* of this truth. This I have also understood was a very general impression on the minds of the more intelligent part of the audience. They have seen clearly, and, in many cases acknowledged, that to participate in the political organization of the country, is to be actively concerned in the guilt of slaveholding, with all its black catalogue of crimes! I have understood our friend was equally explicit and convincing as regards the pro-slavery religious organization of the country. But I have yet heard from her but casual remarks on this subject. On the occasion to which I have referred, I had an opportunity of listening to E. J. Hitchcock, on the pro-slavery character of the religious organizations of the land. Her address was delivered in a chaste and agreeable manner, and commanded during the whole, the close attention of the audience. The impression made, I have been assured, was of the best kind. The remarks of Dr. Hudson, during the different stages of the debate, were well received. I say *debate*, for the speaking during much of the time assumed this form, from the fact, that one of our *Third Party* friends, thought himself under the necessity of defending his favorite principle, of *destroying Slavery by political action.* How far he was successful I need not say to those who are familiar with the arguments of his opponents,—Abby Kelley and Dr. Hudson.

In conclusion, I would just say, that I fervently hope that our Executive Committee will have it in their power to retain these eloquent advocates of the slave in this field of labor. And that the friends of the cause in Eastern Pennsylvania, will furnish the means of enlisting the services of such able coadjutors.

WM. H. JOHNSON.

BUCKINGHAM, 12th mo. 1844.

Letter from E. B. Chace.

VALLEY FALLS, R. I. }
12th of 12th mo. 1844. }

FRIEND GAY:—As the following communication has never been read in the meeting to which it was addressed twelve months ago, I consider that my testimony will not have been faithfully borne, until I have given to the public my reasons for withdrawing from the Society of Friends. If thou wilt give the letter an insertion in the Standard, thou wilt oblige thy friend,

E. B. CHACE.

To Providence Monthly Meeting of Friends.

VALLEY FALLS, 28th of 11th mo, 1843.

DEAR FRIENDS:—After many months of serious deliberation, attended frequently by severe conflict, sincerely desiring and earnestly seeking the direction of the spirit of truth, I have arrived at the conclusion, that it will no longer be right for me to remain a member of your Society.

By birthright and education connected with the Society of Friends, I very early became attached to the Christian principles it professes; and this attachment, growing with my growth and strengthening with my strength, has remained with me through my riper years, and is now strong, and, I trust, enduring. But when, for many years, I have looked for the fruits of these righteous principles in the proceedings of the Society, or the practice of its most highly professing members, I have been forced to admit that they were not suffered to produce their legitimate effects, but that the Society, having become blindly attached to mere formal observances, and, in a great measure dependent thereon, instead of carrying out those principles it was called to maintain in the face of the world, had settled down quietly, to enjoy the exalted reputation it had obtained by its really reformatory labors, in apathy and indifference concerning the sins of "a world lying in wickedness," and the suffering and degradation occasioned thereby, and that it was only aroused by the fear, that individual members were doing what they believed to be right, independently of its authority.

The pro-slavery position assumed and maintained by New-England Yearly Meeting, and, consequently, by its subordinate branches, has, for many years, been a subject of painful regret to my mind; and I long cherished the hope, that, the principles of truth and righteousness finally prevailing, this large and influential body would yet come up, with its strong band of spirits yearning to do right, to the rescue of down-trodden humanity. But I have hoped and waited in vain. It still, like the Priest and the Levite, "passes by on the other side;" incurring the fearful responsibility of continuing in cruel slavery millions of our fellow-countrymen. For I fully believe, that, had the Friends in this country rightly persevered in their Anti-Slavery efforts, since the time when they ceased from actual participation in the guilt of holding human beings as property, no Slavery would now pollute the soil of these United States, no tears would flow from the eyes, no blood from the lacerated flesh of its wretched, suffering victims.

The delinquency of the Society in this respect, has, probably more than anything else, been made instrumental in opening my eyes to perceive that many corruptions have become too deeply interwoven with its present organization to be ever separated therefrom; and my firm belief now is, that, by the hand of Providence, they will be removed together.

The love of dominion, and its unlimited exercise by the few over the many, the practical denial to the weak of the right to call in question the authority of the powerful, (whose power is often found to rest on the influence of wealth and worldly station, and on the favor of those possessing these earthly gifts, more than on holiness of heart and life,) and the countenance and support given to a blood-stained Government, are not the least among the abuses which I find so deeply rooted in the Society, that I feel that it would be sinful for me, any longer, to share its responsibilities.

In reply to any inquiries concerning the important step I am now taking, I can only answer, that, firmly believing in the doctrine of the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit, I do firmly believe that it requires this of me, and I can find no peace in resisting the pleadings of its "still small voice."

With those who, seeing the corruptions, do not believe it to be their duty to withdraw from the Society, I have no warfare. I have been in the same state myself, and it would have been very agreeable to my natural feelings to remain so. Their path of duty may be different from mine. I would only urge them to walk carefully by the light of Truth shed abroad in the heart, and fearlessly to follow its dictates. Neither have I enmity toward those who sincerely believe that the Society is still in its purity, following in the footsteps of our Lord and Master, who "went about doing good." Some of them are my personal friends, and the fault shall not be mine if they do not remain so. My earnest desire for them is, that, "by a light let in only from above," they may be led to see things as they really are.

So let us all seek, that we may find, the truth; proving all things and holding fast that which is good. And now, one and all, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

ELIZABETH B. CHACE.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, DEC. 26, 1844.

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

Address of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to the Friends of the Cause.

BELOVED COADJUTORS: In the fulfilment of the duty incumbent upon us as the official servants of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we find it necessary to call upon the friends of the cause in all the States, as the termination of the year approaches, to place us in a financial position, which shall be alike honorable to us as their servants for the slave; to them as our co-workers and constituents; and, above all, to that holy cause to which we all alike owe untiring support.

Having done to the uttermost, during the year, whatsoever our hands found to do for freedom and humanity; having devoted to the uttermost of our strength and our substance, we feel that now is the time for us to call without hesitancy or doubt on others for *their* uttermost of labor and of contribution.

Our operations thus far in the Anti-Slavery year, have been carried on both extensively and economically, when compared with our numbers and our means; and, did the current year and the Anti-Slavery year correspond, we should not now need to make a special pecuniary appeal. But the close of the month of December demands of the Anti-Slavery men and women of the United States, some extra exertion to meet its exigencies. We have therefore to request of all who wish us success,—of all who have constituted us their servants,—of all Americans who feel the honor and safety of their country compromised by the existence of slavery, an immediate remittance proportionate to their means. Address Francis Jackson, Treasurer of the American Society, State street, Boston, or Sydney Howard Gay, Assistant Treasurer, 142 Nassau street, New-York.

The Executive Committee desire also to take this opportunity to impress in an especial manner, on the minds of their constituents and friends, the necessity of extending the circulation of the organ of the Society—THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. While they have satisfaction in stating that its subscription list was never in so satisfactory a condition, they earnestly desire that its means of usefulness to the cause may be still more widely extended, and its spirit still more fully diffused. To all the official agents, volunteers in the lecturing field, officers of local societies, and prominent friends throughout the country, the Committee especially appeal in its behalf. The present is emphatically the season for obtaining subscribers; and we earnestly urge it upon all these classes of our friends in particular, and on all the well-wishers of freedom in general, to make specific exertions to extend the circulation of the Standard, as a faithful, energetic, and uncompromising helper;—as a thorough, efficient, and steadfast instrumentality. We have, in common with the rest of the Abolitionists, been greatly cheered and invigorated, helped and delighted by its fidelity and ability; and feel it a duty incumbent upon us, to request all practicable extension of its circulation; that the cause may be the more effectually promoted.

We therefore ask of each friend of the cause, immediately to make specific exertion for this object.

Commending our august cause, with all its servants, to divine care and furtherance, we are ever yours for its promotion.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Prest.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Sec'y.

Fugitives.

The recent cases of Torrey and Walker have raised, in many minds, the question, how far it is our duty to assist fugitive slaves in making their escape, and whether those who are not already fugitive, should be induced to become so by our assistance. It brings up again, also, in another form, the continually recurring question of our constitutional obligations. Most Abolitionists have long ago decided for themselves, that compact or no compact, law or no law, they will extend a helping hand to the hunted bondman, whenever and wherever he shall demand it. And, indeed, notwithstanding the general pro-slavery character of the people, the appeal to man's better and higher nature is seldom made in vain, when the trembling slave appears and asks protection, though the same people may be just as ready the next moment to mob an Abolitionist. The instinct of humanity is true when the heart is appealed to by visible distress, however much the understanding may be blinded in reasoning upon abstract theories of ethics, or the application of those theories to wretchedness which is not before our eyes.

That it is right to assist the fugitive—nay, that it is a solemn duty to do so, is generally admitted. It is an appeal to our sympathies that cannot be resisted. The man, or the woman, stands before us whose flesh has quivered under the lash, and they point us to these marks, which will last till that flesh has mouldered into dust. The branding-iron, perhaps, has also left its indelible imprint, and the rifle-ball, or buck-shot, its scar. That heart is a hard one that can look on these things unmoved, or, even where they do not exist, can deny the prayer of one who cries, "help, or I perish."

I was called, not long since, to one on whom Slavery had done its perfect work. Alone and unaided he had found his way from the distant South to this city. The dark night had been his only friend, and he dreaded, as the coming of an enemy, the return of God's blessed sunlight. He did not tell me his story, but it could be read in his timorous and frightened air, his thin and starved look, and his tattered garments. It needed no strong imagination to see him as he stole from his miserable hovel, and fled like a guilty thing to the woods, pausing only sometimes to lay his ear to the ground to listen if he might catch the distant bay of the bloodhounds on his track. Wild berries, doubtless, had been his only food; the cold ground, or often, for greater safety, some dark tree-top, his only resting-place. The habitations of men he would avoid, pursuing his toilsome journey through swamps and forests, for his only safety was in the solitude of nature. Slavery had taught him this—to trust no man. Ignorant and degraded as he was, he knew this also, that he did not leave Slavery behind him when he crossed Mason and Dixon's line. In every white man he saw an enemy, and trusted his own race only so far as to ask an occasional alms. He trembled when I spoke to him. He shrunk when I proffered him assistance; and when I entreated him to wait only so long as to enable me to procure the names of those farther on his way to Canada, to whom he could apply for assistance and advice, he turned away, with a "No, no, I cannot wait." He disregarded my protestations of friendliness, and refused my proffered kindness. And why not? He saw treachery in the very color of my skin, for his whole life had taught him that the whites were tyrants. He was fearful that there, in the open street of this populous Northern city, in broad daylight, I would make him again a slave; and he turned away, to pursue alone, his painful journey, with no guides but the North Star, and the sun, and trusting to Him only that made them, but to no man on earth. His case is the case of thousands. Who would not count it joy to stretch out the hand, with the heart in it, to one of these poor wanderers, if they have faith enough left in man to take it?

But many who would not hesitate to give the needed help when the fugitive seeks us in our northern home, questions the rightfulness of *enticing*—as it is named in slaveholding language—the slave from his master. It is, say they, an infringement of the right of property; and though we may disregard this when the slave has already destroyed it by his escape, and appeals to us for help in his distress, we are not justified in its infringement where it still exists, as legitimate by the law of the land. The usual answer is, that man cannot rightfully be property; and wherever we find so unjust a relation existing, we have the right to use all means, not immoral in themselves, for its destruction. The answer is conclusive. We are bound by no law which militates with the law of God.

But here another question arises; are we bound by a wicked law to which we are ourselves a party? Clearly not. We have no right to make such a law; or when made, we are bound to repudiate it, so soon as we see its immorality. Are we, at the North, a party to the law which declares that men may be held as property? We are. We have bound ourselves by a solemn national covenant that we will do nothing that shall infringe the master's recognized right over his slave. We have bound ourselves even to return the fugitive when once he has escaped, and have yielded, in the Federal compact, the right of any State to enact any law, whereby all men shall be protected in their unalienable rights. Those, then, who adhere to the terms of the compact, so long as the compact exists, should have, at least, the credit of consistency: whilst those who disregard these terms, are bound, first to repudiate the compact, and refuse to recognize the Government formed under it. The South may well call us perjured, while we still swear to support the Constitution, but refuse to fulfil its requirements.

After all, it is a case for individual action. There are few who will not assist the fugitive, and but few who call themselves Abolitionists, who would not, if at the South, advise the slave to escape. But if the latter course were pursued, and backed by any extended arrangements for its success, by any society, it would be, in effect, the beginning of a civil war, and opposed to the spirit of the Anti Slavery reform. It behooves us that our zeal shall not outrun our discretion, and that in our eagerness to relieve the few cases of individual suffering, which by these means we may reach, we should not overlook the consequences of our action upon the whole mass. What we may do at the North, we may do openly and in sight of the world, but the fact that at the South this work is to be done, by stealth, is in itself an argument against it. Let those who can, go there, if there be any such, and exercise such an influence over the people, as to still their evil passions, or brave them openly, in full view of the consequences, while he performs what he believes his duty, when at the same time he bids the bondman fly from the tyranny which tramples him under foot. But till we do this, it seems to me, that this method of limited emancipation, should be used with caution. Help, in God's name, all who have escaped, or all who will; advise even all to escape who can. But we have a higher duty to perform than to set in motion any general machinery for such a purpose.

I know I am liable to misapprehension in throwing out these few thoughts, but such as they are, they are at present my honest convictions. A line is to be drawn somewhere between our duty to the few who seek our aid, or advice, and the many, whose final and complete emancipation we can only hope for through that power which changes the evil in men's hearts and ways to good.—G.

The Herald of Freedom.

The following resolutions, which have been sent me from Providence, I publish with reluctance. These friends have a right to be heard, if they feel called upon to speak. To their speaking of course I do not object, nor am I reluctant that the Standard should be their organ of communication with the public. But I do regret that Resolutions of this character should be offered for publication. I do not mean to argue the point, but simply to say that they have changed entirely the ground of the controversy. Here is a simple question of property involved, nor does it need, that imputations of motives, and reflections upon personal character, should be mixed up in its settlement. No one has doubted the high character of the Herald, and the great good of which it has been the instrument; and no charge can be more cruelly unjust to all concerned on the one side, than to impute this doubt to them, and to construe their wish to have a question of property decided into "personal jealousy." And what do our friends mean by insinuating that there is diminished confidence in the "integrity and fidelity" of Mr. Rogers? Such an imputation would be ridiculous, were it not thrown out at a time when it is calculated to cause needless irritation, and excite a most unjust suspicion against those who have conducted themselves throughout this painful controversy in the kindest spirit of gentleness and forbearance. The Resolutions, in short, affirm of the former position of the Herald, and of the character of our beloved friend Rogers, what all assent to most gladly, and are therefore uncalled for;—they impute motives and opinions to the Committee of the New Hampshire Society, and their friends in Boston, which do not exist, and are therefore unjust; and they belittle a moral question, where the right of property is concerned, and in that view alone must do great harm. Nevertheless I publish them, but with a regret that so unnecessary, so unjust, and, in its tendencies, so immoral a document should have been put forth.—G.

The undersigned Abolitionists, and subscribers to the Herald of Freedom, at a meeting held at the Anti-Slavery rooms in Providence, Rhode Island, on Tuesday evening, December, 17th, 1844, adopted the following resolutions, viz.

Resolved, That as we have not remained unconcerned, neither can we longer remain silent spectators of the controversy existing in relation to the "Herald of Freedom."

Resolved, That whatever may have been the faults of the Printer, or Editor of the "Herald," we are decidedly of the opinion that no Anti-Slavery paper has in the main been so economically conducted, or with more generous spirit of self-sacrifice in its Editor or Publisher, or with better satisfaction to its subscribers; and that while the Herald maintained, as it always has, the highest Anti-Slavery position, and was at least equal, if not superior in intellect and genius, to any other Anti-Slavery paper in the world—no personal jealousies should have been allowed to disturb the existing harmony, or prevent the free forthcoming of that potent advocate of Human Liberty.

Resolved, That while we have great confidence in the opinion of the Committee appointed at the Concord meeting, we must express our conviction, that nothing we have yet seen, in the course of this unhappy controversy justifies the conclusion arrived at in the Report of said Committee.

Resolved, That the "Herald of Freedom" has been rendered valuable, not because it claimed to be the organ of any sect, party, or organization, but in consequence of its very freedom from them all, and that, like the "Liberator," the high and peculiar talents of its Editor have constituted its greatest value, and in the absence of those talents, neither copyright or subscription list would be of any pecuniary worth whatever.

Resolved, That whatever technical or legal claim the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society may at any time have had to the copyright of the "Herald of Freedom," it is very evident, from the several transfers which have been made, that every party which have in turn owned it, have esteemed it (in a pecuniary sense) worth little or nothing, and that for the Society to assume a controlling power, in the face of the individual sacrifices and efforts, which it is well known have been made in order to sustain the paper, is, to say the least, an assumption of rather doubtful authority.

Resolved, That we have undiminished confidence in the integrity and fidelity of our beloved brother, Nathaniel P. Rogers, and that (without intending, in the least, to impeach the motives of those who have formed a different conclusion) our strong conviction of his single-heartedness, purity of purpose, and intimate knowledge of all the facts in the whole transaction, constrain us to put the greatest reliance upon his statement of the case.

Peleg Clarke,	William Adams,
Thomas Davis,	D. B. Harris,
Alphonso R. Janes,	George L. Clarke,
Amaranecy Paine,	Abel Segur,
Arad Derby,	Horace Clarke,
Lucinda A. Reed,	Richmond Winsor,
Elisha M. Aldrich,	Solomon W. Kenyon,
Frances Clarke,	Ann Page,
Lydia F. Clarke,	Hannah B. Shove,
Rebecca P. Aldrich,	George James Adams,
Daniel Mitchell,	Lawton S. Johnston,
John L. Clarke,	Mary Hathaway,
Mary R. Clarke,	Joseph Chace,
Susan Sesson,	Hannah Burgess,
William Chace,	O. Taber,
S. S. Ashley,	W. Bishop,
Mrs. D. B. Harris,	D. Bisbop,
Alexander Lake,	Noah Jackman.

President Tyler's Message.

There have been rumors for some days past that a war message was to be sent to Congress. A message has been sent, but it has no smell of "villainous gunpowder." It is, perhaps, Mr. Tyler's last gun, but is not shotted. Its subject is of course our Mexican and Texan relations. The larger portion of it is an answer to Senor Rejon's admirable letter to our extraordinary minister, Mr. Shannon. No new light, however, is shed upon the subject. The old charges are made against Mexico, and the old arguments presented in favor of Annexation. One of the charges is—it is but a repetition of that made by Mr. Calhoun in his letter of instructions to Mr. Shannon—that Mexico has failed to pay the debt due the United States, to which she had solemnly pledged herself. It should be remembered that that debt has been paid, excepting the last instalment, which has been but four or five months due. But even had none of it been liquidated, the President and Secretary of State should have spared our own repudiating States so cruel a home-thrust. Another charge is, that "still further to manifest her (Mexico's) unfriendly feelings towards the United States, she has issued decrees expelling from some of her provinces American citizens engaged in the peaceful pursuits of life." Did she ever imprison any of our citizens because their skin was not of the standard color? or pass resolves that an agent of another Government should be expelled from her territory? Mr. Tyler is cruelly indiscriminate in lashing us for our State sins over the back of Mexico.

It is rather pleasant than otherwise to see how utterly impossible it is for these great statesmen to do anything else than utter the most abominable lies that would shame a schoolboy, in relation to this nefarious scheme of national robbery. Mr. Calhoun, in his letter to Mr. King, argues the point at length to prove that Slavery will be destroyed all over the civilized world unless we annex Texas. This is true, and as bold as it is devilish. On the other hand, eminent men have declared that the necessary result of Annexation must be the speedy destruction of Slavery in the United States. This is a lie, as glaring as the other's truth is bold. The Morning News, a leading Democratic print in this city, declares that Annexation is sought by its party at the North, entirely for this end. Immaculate Democracy! But hear Mr. Tyler, and contrast his words with the assertion of Mr. Calhoun, which we know to be true:

The subject of Annexation addresses itself most fortunately to every portion of the Union. The Executive would have been unmindful of its highest obligations, if it could have adopted a course of policy dictated by sectional interests and local feelings. On the contrary, it was because the question was neither local nor sectional, but made its appeal to the interests of the whole Union, and of every State in the Union, that the negotiation, and finally the Treaty of Annexation, was entered into; and it has afforded me no ordinary pleasure to perceive that, so far as demonstrations have been made up it by the People, they have proceeded from all portion the Union.

True it is, that "demonstrations" have "proce from all portions of the Union," but they have bee a purpose as universal—the ascendancy of a lo est. The man who can assert the contrary is pos of impudence approaching to the sublime.

The message closes with a recommendation prompt and immediate action be taken on the subjec Annexation. "By adopting such a measure," he sa "the United States will be in the exercise of an undoub ed right." On the head of Mexico, he adds, must res the responsibility, if she shall "*aggravate the injustice of her conduct*" by a declaration of war. What a tyrant this Mexico is.

South Carolina.

This remarkable little pepper-pot is taking precautions to save herself from the incursions of Northern barbarians. She is a great deal more frightened than hurt, or than she is likely to be, if, like Mr. Hoar, all the emissaries sent to wage war against her peculiarities, shall only walk the piazza of the hotel in great agitation, and leave the city under protection of the respect paid to his daughter, and a few philanthropic gentlemen. A very remarkable mob, by-the-bye, was that for a Southern one. However, a bill to provide "for the punishment of persons disturbing the peace of the State by the color of authority from other States of the Union," passed the house of Assembly, and was sent to the Senate on the 11th instant. An amendment was submitted, embracing persons from foreign States or Powers, as well as individuals from any State or Territory in this Union. The amendment was opposed, on the ground, it is said, that too much authority would be vested in single magistrates, who might endanger the peace of the country by the arrest of foreign agents. The section was remedied by taking away the power from minor magistrates, and vesting it in the higher Judicatories of the State. An amendment was also made to include agents of the General Government of the United States, but was lost by a vote of forty-five to sixty-five. It is a pity that they hadn't included the General Government, but there was probably a vivid recollection of the "emissary" which Gen. Jackson sent them in '32.

That the whole section was modified when the question of Foreign Agents came up, is a significant fact. The chivalry, after all, have a very wholesome respect and fear for all Powers that have any self-respect. Like all bullies, she chooses the subjects of her pugnacity among the poltroons. Instances have been known of Yankee Captains, in the port of Charleston, putting their colored stewards on board English vessels, to save them from imprisonment. John Bull's red cross is a better protection, even to our own citizens, than the Constitution of the United States.

Gerrit Smith.

We learn from "The Practical Christian," that Mr. Gerrit Smith feels uneasy, and indignant, at the review of his letter on the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution, by Mr. Wendell Phillips. This is an encouraging symptom in his case. His conclusion that Mr. Garrison is alone in thinking it a keen review and a merited rebuke, makes it our duty to say, that we do not know a single Abolitionist, (and our knowledge of that

Assault on Mr. Adams.

An assault was made last week on the venerable ex-President. He had gone, as usual, at an early hour to the Hall, when he was called into the Rotunda by a messenger, who said a gentleman wished to speak to him. He was immediately struck at by this person, who used, at the same time, some threatening language. Mr. Adams, however, seized his arms, and held him till some of the attendants came to the rescue. The man was afterwards arrested, and seemed to be either intoxicated or insane.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOIREE.—I observe by the Liberator, that the Massachusetts Fair, which commenced on Tuesday, will close next week by a Soirée. It will be an occasion of great interest, and will be well worth the trouble of a journey to attend. Tickets, at 25 cents, may be had at the Fair.

MORE BLUSTER.—The Senate of South Carolina has resolved unanimously, that any Legislation in Congress, to abolish Slavery, "will be, in fact, a dissolution of the Federal Compact!" The House has promised to consider the subject. Probably it has agreed not to agree.

TEXAS.—There is little probability that Mr. Benton's Bill will pass the House, or that the joint resolution will pass the Senate. That will probably put the question at rest for this session.

A HOAX.—The story told in the last Standard of riot and murder in Ohio, turns out to be a hoax.

Eleventh Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair,

Will open on Tuesday, Dec. 24, at half-past 9 o'clock, a.m.

AT AMORY HALL, THE DAY BEFORE CHRISTMAS,

And will continue through the week; affording an unequalled opportunity for the selection of unique and elsewhere unattainable things for Christmas and New Year's Gifts

☞ This Fair has no connection with any political party, or sectarian denomination, or peculiar opinion. The Funds are to be paid to the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, for the promotion of its sole object—the Abolition of Slavery. This Society has *no connection whatever with "the Liberty Party."* The Managers therefore request purchasers of tickets to observe that none admit to Amory Hall but such as correspond to the following description: Device—Embossed kneeling slave. Motto—American Anti-Slavery Society:—"Am I not a man and a brother?"—endorsed in writing, "Amory Hall—not transferrable—"Season," or "Single." This precaution is rendered necessary by the frequent disappointments of purchasers last year, who took other tickets under the impression that they admitted to this exhibition.

Among the beautiful, useful, and ornamental things which have been collected from almost every part of Europe, Asia, and America, during the year, are a large quantity of small toys from Burmah. Boys' boats and ships from $25 to $1, each. Worsted-wrought, Walnut, and Mahogany-mounted tabourets and chairs.

KNITTING AND NETTING.

Sofa-nets, and doileys of an entirely new series of patterns, and of extra size and exquisite fineness—in cotton, linen, and Shetland wool. Open knit black thread stockings, *very large*, smaller, and medium sized shawls and scarfs, KNIT BY THE BLIND OF THE ENGLISH ASYLUM,—all of the most brilliant colors, and of the last degree of fineness and finish. The perfection of these amounts to a curiosity in knit woolen lace-work. Rich, warm, and beautiful woolen neck-ties, net-handkerchiefs, muffs, mits, gloves, muffatees, baby's socks and shoes, stockings, throat-shields, sofa-covers, dressing-gowns, foot-cushions, sofa-pillows, gaiters, moccasins, broaches, bell-pulls, &c. &c. all knitted and netted and wrought by English and Irish friends of the cause, of the beautiful foreign worsted, which is not imported (except to order) by "the trade." Bugle bandeaus, cuffs and ferronières.

TAPESTRY WORK.

Slippers, bags, screens, tabourets, chair-bottoms, vests, mats, rugs, holders, &c. &c. in the greatest beauty and variety.

AN ELEGANT TABLE COVER,

Wrought for the Fair by Harriet Martineau, in four alternate groups of flowers, fruits and evergreens, significant of the four seasons. Oblong, buff-braid netting, baskets, lined with blue and cherry-colored quilted silk, by the same hand.

DOLLS,

of every size, material, price, and character, from a great Waxen Victoria in royal robes, to a little Highland piper, and Edinburgh fish-woman, in characteristic costume.

WAX-FRUIT AND SHELL WORK.

Boxes, cottages, flowers, &c. from England, Ireland, and Wales.

DRAWING-ROOM GLOVES.

A fresh contribution of these exquisitely beautiful and useful things, which were so much admired last year.

PURSES.

Every imaginable kind, both of Foreign and American contribution; of steel-work, bead-work, silk-work, ribbon-work, knit and net-work, and silver-ring Canton-work.

INFANTS' DRESS.

Wrought frocks, flannels, linens, and cambries. Exquisitely formed and executed hoods, knit by the blind of England, of the exact pattern worn by the royal children of Great Britain. Silk patch-work quilts, new-fashioned bibs.

PETITS OBJETS,

For the drawing-room, in great abundance and *bien recherchés*. Inlaid Japan, and Nankin China inkstands and pen-stands, with cut glass furniture; cut glass perfume bottles, paper weights and holders, portifolios of embossed leather and paper, Japan flower-painted screens, charming water-color sketches on screens, feather fans and screens, desks, work-boxes, Statuettes in plaster and bronze, medallions, silver-mounted eggs in the Russian fashion, tea-caddies, French boudoir book-keeping, and cases of papeterie.

PLAYTHINGS.

A vast variety of games, dissected picture-puzzles, alphabets, skipping-ropes, nine-pins, dominos, in lead and ivory, Alphabet *Costumé*, balls, &c.

PICTURES.

Water-color sketches in a most bold and effective style, by British artists of high reputation, who have presented them to the Fair. A series of views of Rhine scenery and English cottage subjects, by English ladies interested in the cause;—all these are very valuable, and worthy the attention of artists and amateurs, as proof of the high character of the English school of water-colors. Very rare and curious silk-woven copies of Raphael's "Madonna della Seggiola," and a "Crucifixion," done at Lyons, in French frames. Landscapes in oils, of English Cathedral and Castle views. A few copies of the new and costly mezzotinto of GEORGE THOMPSON, done for the British India Society. Kit-Kat portraits in oils, of the five first Presidents of the United States—admirable copies from the originals of Stuart. The best engraving of O'Connel. *Four sketches of* HARRIET MARTINEAU'S *rooms at Tynemouth*, and the views from the windows. Feetham,—*Residence of* ELIZABETH PEASE, *at Darlington*.—View of Cork, in water-colors.

PERFUMES, &c.

Boxes and Sachets of pot-pourri, Verveine, Muguet, œillet, orange, rose, &c. Perfumed Chinese soap, scented olive-oil soap, razors, brushes, &c. Boxes of Bartlett's celebrated needles, from Ireland. Varian's brushes.

THE BOOK-TABLE.

THE LIBERTY BELL, (No 6,) will be published on the first morning of the Fair, in more beautiful style than ever, with an outline engraving of Wendell Phillips, and containing articles from Garrison, Phillips, Quincy, E. L. Follen, Dr. Bowring, Longfellow, Lowell, Clarkson, H. Martineau, Elizabeth Pease, Esther Sturge, Frederika Bremer, Anne W. Weston, S. J. and S. May, G. S. Burleigh, John Parkman, and many others; all the copies elegantly, and some spleadidly bound.

"THE PRETTIEST BOOK IN THE WORLD!"

Translated from the German, on purpose for the Fair, with illustrative etchings by Andrews, from original designs, is to be published also on the first morning, and is to be *the prettiest thing in the world* for a Christmas and New Year's gift for children.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

A few copies of Abdy's Journal and Residence in the United States, and a few of Gustave de Beaumont's Ireland, (author of *Marie, ou Esclavage des Etats Unis*, and Colleague of de Tocqueville in the Commission from the French Government for the examination of American Prison Discipline.) This work of De Beaumont is translated by W. C. Taylor, L. L. D. of the Dublin University, and is, with the book of Abdy, out of print. Lockhart's life of Scott, (Cadell's Edinburgh edition in ten volumes,) each volume illustrated with two engravings of Scott, his ancestors, children, and dwelling. Milman's History of the Jews. Vaughan's age of great cities. The Olive-Leaf. The Mosaic-Workers of George Sand. The English Juvenile Miscellany, or Leaves from Fairyland. The Christian house-tablet, from the German of Passavant. GULISTAN, (Gladwin's translation) from the Persian. Holbey's Peder Paars, (Danish) Enquiry into the accordancy of war with Christianity. Filial Love. The Quadroon Girl. Fire-side verses, by Mary Howitt, (beautiful quarto edition). Modern Slavery, by De La Mennais. Illustrations of Phrenology, (in cards). Illustrations of Faith, from the history of Count Von der Recke's establishment at Dussilthal, on the Rhine. Many curious and rare old books. Sermons, by distinguished English Ministers of all denominations. Puseyism, by the Rev. William James. Sermons on the miracles. Translation of the Psalms, by Frederick Russell. William Howitt on National Reformation, in Church and State. Dr. Estlin's report on the result of surgical operations at the eye infirmary, Bristol. Cellérier, [Theological professor at Geneva,] on the Old Testament, translated by the Rev. J. R. Wreford. Dr. Wardlaw's sermon. Missionary stories for children. Lays of Loyalty.

AMERICAN.

Life of C. Follen. A few complete sets of the Liberty Bell. The new publication of the American Anti-Slavery Society—the Madison papers on Slavery, &c. being Anti-Slavery Examiner, No. 16. The last Annual Report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. A great variety of childrens' books. Extracts from the Slave Codes. Mrs. Locke's poems.

The newest, and most elegant, and approved fashion of

WRITING MATERIALS.

Every beautiful kind of writing materials has been selected by friends abroad, for the book-table: small desks, inkstands, of a new construction, boxes of enamelled, motto, transparent, embossed, initial, architectural, cameo, gold and silver, and plain common wafers, tapers and friction matches, for sealing. Taper stands. Sealing-wax, "perfumed white"—"palace perfumed"—"royal red"—"French" and "Imperial"; of all colors. Letter and note paper of every size, tint, and weight. The best French "papiers à lettres"—for foreign correspondence, four hundred and eighty sheets to the half-inch. Deep blue French golden-edge, embossed with flowers. Best *Uni blanc*, plain. Initial note paper, with one, two, or three letters, plain or with ornamental surmounting or surrounding; of five sizes. Princes' cabinet—Queen's size—common, gentlemen's, and Royal satin. Black edged, with four sizes of envelopes to correspond; envelopes of eight other kinds—Curvilinear—Rectilinear—Parisian safety—Detector—parallelogram—porcelain—Barrister's best. Quadrille note paper. Pictorial and musical note and letter paper, comprising castles, cathedrals and abbeys of England,—Environs of Dublin,—Artistes of the Opera, (among which is Cerito, in the shadow dance, beautifully executed). Quadrille and Lyrical letter paper, with airs from the most celebrated German composers. An immense variety of pencil, India ink, and sepia sketches. Minatures on ivory, of CLARKSON. Lithographic sketches. Transparencies. Tinting by reflection, beautiful pen wipers, wrought card-baskets, card cases of tinted and embossed leather, arbutus wood, and Canton wrought-silver. Penknives.

CURIOSITIES.

Rude Moorish musical instruments. Cut paper birds. Old books. Packets of the hair of Rammohun Roy, Jeremy Bentham, and various other distinguished persons. Book of Flowers from classic ground. Shells of Great Britain, scientifically arranged and presented by Dr. Carpenter and J. Darbishire, Esq. "Ocean offering," or seaplants of New England. Mossed Vases of dried ferns and Autumn-leaves. Small cooking stove. Japan sealing-wax box, very curious and rare.

AUTOGRAPHS.

A very large number have been received per Caledonia which, in addition to the other collections of the year, make a supply worthy the attention of collectors. Many of these Autographs are valuable and characteristic letters. Among them are almost all the Literati, Nobility, and Philanthropists of England, with some of other European countries. Valuable Arabic letter, (with letter and translation) of the Sultan of Muscat. Sir Humphrey Davy, Doctor Parr, Wilberforce, Humboldt, Clarkson, The Duchess of Sutherland, Queen Adelaide, Moore, Campbell, Peel, Charlotte Smith, The Howitts, Carlyle, Haydon, Lord Denman, Boyer, Inginac, and Preissnitz. Those whowish to examine the collection at leisure, are informed that the best time will be between 3 and 5 o'clock, P. M.

REFRESHMENTS.

Ices, tea and c ffee, Blanc-mange, Sandwiches, fruit, cakes, confectionary, &c.

N. B. It should be remembered that the managers are unable to advertise fully, as the most valuable of the home contributions never come in till the day before the Fair, and the Glasgow and Liverpool contributions are not to arrive till the week previous.

Tickets Fifty cents, Season; Twenty-Five cents, single; to be had at the Anti-Slavery offices, 25 Cornhill, Boston, and 142 Nassau St. New-York.

M. W. Chapman,	*Ann T. G. Phillips,*
Mary G. Chapman,	*Susan C. Cabot,*
Eliza L. Follen,	*Sarah B. Shaw,*
Sarah S. Russell,	*Hellen E. Garrison.*
Anne Warren Weston,	*Thankful Southwick,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Catherine Sargent,*
Maria White,	*Frances Mary Robbins,*
Louisa Loring,	*M. A. W. Johnson,*
Caroline Weston,	*Anna R. Philbrick,*
Harriet B. Jackson,	*Mary F. Rogers,*
Louisa M. Sewal,	*Abby Southwick,*
Marian Fuller,	*Caroline F. Williams.*
Ann R. Bramhall.	*Mary Willey Bramhall,*
Lavinia Hilton,	*Havana Tufts,*
	Mary Young,

BOSTON, November 28, 1844.

Congress.

Twenty-Eighth Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Friday, Dec. 13.—Sundry petitions were offered, among which were some on a reduction of postage. One of Mary Martin, late of New-York, formerly Mary Lindsay, praying compensation for a negro man captured by the British during the last war.

SENATE, Monday, December 16.—The time was consumed in notices of bills to be offered, and in offering petitions on various subjects.

The following resolution, moved on Friday last by Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana, coming up in order, viz:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of modifying the naturalization laws of the United States, so as to extend the term allowed to enable foreigners to become citizens; to require greater guards against fraud in steps to be taken in procuring naturalization papers, and to prevent, as far as practicable fraud and violence at elections, and to prohibit the introduction of foreign convicts into the United States—

After a long debate, the resolution was agreed to.

The following resolution, heretofore offered by Mr. Phelps, coming up for consideration:

Resolved, That the President be requested to inform the Senate whether the Executive Department is possessed of any definite and satisfactory information, by which the present public debt of the Republic of Texas can be ascertained; and, if so, that he be requested to inform the Senate the aggregate amount of that debt; and also that he be requested to inform the Senate whether any, and, if any, what additions have been made to that debt since the signing of the treaty with that Republic submitted to the Senate at its last session; and that he be further requested to inform the Senate what amount of the public lands of Texas had been granted by the Spanish, Mexican, and Texan Governments, and to what extent the faith of either of said Governments had been pledged by the issue of scrip, or other security, to make grants thereof, or in any form to part with its title to or interest in the same previous to the signing of said treaty; and whether any, and what grants of said domain have been made or other evidence of title thereto, legal or equitable, issued by the Texan Government since that period.

After some remarks by Messrs. Tappan and Phelps, the resolution was adopted.

HOUSE.—The Bill to provide for a uniform time for the election of Electors for President and Vice President, came up as the first business in order.

The question was on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

Mr. Duncan called for the yeas and nays on the question; they were ordered.

And the question being taken, "Shall the bill be engrossed and read a third time?" it was decided in the affirmative, as follows: Yeas 187; Nays 1.

The bill was then read for the third time, and the question was on its passage.

Mr. Duncan called for the previous question; which call was seconded.

Mr. Jeremiah Brown asked for the yeas and nays.

They were not demanded by one-fifth of the members present, and were consequently refused.

The question was then put on the passage of the bill, and decided in the affirmative, it is believed unanimously, as no voice in the negative was heard at the Reporter's desk.

So the bill passed the House of Representatives, and was sent to the Senate for concurrence.

Mr. Burke moved to suspend the rules prescribing the order of business, to afford him an opportunity to offer a resolution in the words following:

Resolved, That ten thousand extra copies of the reports of the majority and minority of the Committee on the memorial of certain members of the Rhode Island Legislature be printed for the use of the House.

The question on the suspension of the rules was decided by yeas and nays, as follows: Yeas 103, Nays 87.

Two-thirds not voting in the affirmative, the rules were not suspended.

Mr. Weller, in pursuance of notice heretofore given, asked leave to introduce a bill to extend the right of suffrage in the city of Washington.

The bill was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. Black, of South Carolina, on leave, introduced a bill to regulate the pay of the Army, and for other purposes.

The bill was referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. Duncan then introduced a bill to organize a Territorial Government in Oregon, and for other purposes. It was read the first and second time, and, on motion of Mr. Duncan, it was referred to the Committee on Territories, and ordered to be printed.

SENATE.—Tuesday, Dec. 17.—The bill to provide a uniform time of election of electors of President and Vice President, was received from the House of Representatives, read a first and second time, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Benton submitted the following resolution, which lies over one day:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be instructed to inquire whether any provisions are necessary in providing for the annexation of Texas, to protect the United States from speculating operations in Texas lands or scrip, and whether any persons employed by the Government are connected with such speculations.

Also, that said Committee be instructed to inquire whether the Texas treaty was commenced or agreed upon before the receipt of Lord Aberdeen's despatch of December 26, 1843, to Mr. Pakenham, communicated to our Government in February, 1844.

Also, that it be instructed to obtain, if possible, the "*private letter*" from London, quoted in Mr. Upshur's first despatch on the Texas negotiation, and supposed by the President to have been carried away among his private papers; and to ascertain the name of the writer of said letter.

And that said Committee be authorized to send for persons and papers to answer the foregoing inquiries, and any others that may be necessary to promote the safe, speedy, peaceable, and honorable annexation of Texas to *the United States*.

ENGROSSED BILLS.

The following bills were read a third time and passed:

An act to change the time of holding the Federal Courts in Kentucky.

A bill concerning furloughs in the naval service.

A bill for the relief of the legal representatives of Joshua Kennedy.

A bill to afford relief to certain contractors with the Government.

HOUSE.—Mr. Peyton submitted the following resolution, which was read and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions be instructed to inquire into the expediency of amending the pension law of 1832, so as to extend its benefits to the officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary war who served less than six months; and of so amending the pension law of 1836 as to include the widows of Revolutionary officers and soldiers who married after 1796.

Mr. Hamlin moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That ten thousand copies of the report of the Select Committee, and the like number of the report of the minority of the Committee, on the memorial of sundry members of the Legislature of Rhode Island, be printed for the use of the House.

The resolution was read; when

Mr. Hamlin moved the previous question.

Here some conversation took place between the Chair and Mr. Adams, and Mr. Winthrop, as to whether it was in order now to order the previous question, and then to lay the resolution over for debate; the result of which was, that the resolution went over under the rule, without taking the question on the motion for the previous question.

Mr. Reding moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to report to this House how much money was paid each year by the late Bank of the United States, and its immediate successor, the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, to members of Congress, editors of newspapers, bank attorneys, and other persons employed by said banks, in this and other countries, giving the name of each person to whom payment was made as aforesaid, and the amount paid to each. And also, that he report the amount loaned by said banks each year to members of Congress, editors of newspapers, and officers, agents, or other persons in the employment of said banks, giving the names of such persons and the amount to each respectively; also, the amount paid for printing, and to whom paid.

Debate arising on this resolution, it lies over one day, under the rule.

Sundry resolutions were offered on the Tariff, Reduction of Postage, Marine Hospitals, Custom House Officers, &c. and referred to their appropriate Committees.

Mr. Slidell moved the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, &c. That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be proposed to the several States, to be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the said Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the said States, viz:

"The election of President and Vice President shall hereafter be made directly by the people or the Legislatures of the several States, without the intervention of Electors. Each State shall, in such manner as the Legislature thereof shall direct, give as many votes for President and Vice President as may be equal to the number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress. The returns of said votes shall be certified and transmitted by the several States in the manner and form perscribed for certifying and transmitting the votes of the Electoral Colleges."

This resolution was read the first and second time, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Territory of Nebraskee.—Mr. Douglass, under notice heretofore given, asked and obtained leave to introduce a bill to establish the Territory of Nebraskee; which bill was read the first and second time, and referred to the Committee on the Territories.

A long debate ensued on the Tariff, and Railroad Iron, in which there was much good-natured sparring in relation to the manner of conducting the late Presidential canvass in several States.

IN SENATE, Wednesday, December 18, 1844.—Mr. Phelps submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President be requested to inform the Senate whether the Executive Department is informed of the various treaty stipulations now subsisting between the Republic of Texas and other independent Powers; and that he be requested to communicate such stipulations, if in possession of the Department, to the Senate.

The resolution of Mr. Benton, offered on yesterday, was taken up and adopted. It is in this form:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be instructed to inquire whether any provisions are necessary in providing for the annexation of Texas to protect the United States from speculating operations in Texas lands or scrip, and whether persons employed by the Government are connected with such speculations.

Also, that said Committee be instructed to inquire whether the Texas treaty was commenced or agreed upon before the receipt of Lord Aberdeen's despatch of December 26, 1843, to Mr. Pakenham, communicated to our Government in February, 1844.

Also, that it be instructed to obtain, if possible, the "*private letter*" from London, quoted in Mr. Upshur's first despatch on the Texas negotiation, and supposed by the President to have been carried away among his private papers; and to ascertain the name of the writer of said letter.

And that said Committee be authorized to send for persons and papers to answer the foregoing inquiries, and any others that may be necessary to promote the safe, speedy, peaceable, and honorable annexation of Texas to the United States.

HOUSE.—The debate on the Tariff was continued.

Mr. Weller gave notice of a motion for leave to introduce a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas to the United States.

Mr. Parmenter asked that the bills on the Speaker's table from the Senate be taken up and referred. It was agreed to, and they were taken up, read the first and second time, and disposed of as follows:

A bill to change the time of holding the Federal Courts in Kentucky. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill for the relief of the legal representatives of Joshua Kennedy, of Indiana. Referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill for the relief of the heirs of Robert Fulton.

A motion was made to refer this bill to the Committee of the Whole House; which was negatived.

It was then referred to the Committee of Claims.

A bill granting a pension to James Duffey. Referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill to afford relief to certain contractors with the Government. Referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill concerning furloughs in the naval service. Referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

IN SENATE, Thursday, December 19, 1844.—Reports were made from several Committees, and several bills introduced. Resolutions were offered on Foreign Emigration, and iron war steamers, and laid over under the rule. The bill on Oregon was referred to a Select Committee. Adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE.—Mr. Weller, in pursuance of notice given yesterday, asked leave to introdnce a joint resolution for the Annexation of Texas to the United States, which he sent to the Clerk, by whom it was read for information, and is as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of these resolutions, (the supreme authorities of Texas concurring therein,) the territory now known as the Republic of Texas, be, and the same is hereby annexed, and made a portion of the territory of the United States.

Be it further resolved, That the people now residing upon the said territory, and within the limits of Texas, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United states, and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and admitted, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the United States.

Be it further resolved, That the said territory hereby annexed, shall be known as the "Territory of Texas," and until otherwise ordered, the laws of Texas, now existing, shall remain in full force, and all the executive and judicial officers of Texas (except the President, Vice President, and heads of Departments) shall retain their offices, with all authority and power appertaining thereto, and the Courts of Justice there established, shall for the present, remain as now organized.

Be it further resolved, That all titles and claims to real estate, valid under the existing laws of Texas, shall be deemed and held so by the Government of the United States.

Be it further resolved, That the public lands of the said territory, be, and the same are hereby, pledged for the payment of the debts therein created, anterior to the passage of this act, for which the faith of the Government of Texas has been given, amounting, as is supposed, to ten millions of dollars.

Be it further resolved, That commissioners shall hereafter be appointed, under such restrictions as Congress may impose, to examine and report the claims which may be presented against the Government of Texas, in order that the proceeds of the public lands, as aforesaid, may be applied to the extinguishment thereof.

Be it further resolved, That commissioners shall hereafter be appointed, who shall establish the boundary and divide the territory, in such manner and form as Congress may direct.

Be it further resolved, That as soon as the supreme authorities shall signify their approval of these resolutions, the same shall be deemed and held the fundamental law of the land.

A resolution was passed to commit the subject to Committee of the Whole, on the state of the Union.

A message was received from the President of the United States, relating to the affairs of the United States and Mexico; which having been read, was, on motion of Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

FRIDAY, December 20.—The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and the bill to re-establish the Independent Treasury was taken up, and the time consumed in a debate thereon.

SATURDAY, December 21.—The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, on the state of the Union, and resumed the consideration of the bill to re-establish the Independent Treasury. The bill, as amended, was reported to the House, and under the operation of the previous question, the amendments agreed to in the Committee were concurred in by the House.

The question now being on ordering the bill to be engrossed for a third reading,

Mr. J. Q. Adams moved to strike out the first section.

The Speaker said that, as the previous question was still pending, the motion could not be entertained.

Mr. J. Q. Adams moved that the bill be recommitted to the Committee of the Whole, with instructions.

The Speaker informed him that the motion was not in order.

The yeas and nays were taken, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading—yeas 123, nays 69.

And the House, at three o'clock, adjourned till Monday.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Fifteen days later from Europe.—Arrival of the Acadia.

The steamship Acadia, Captain Harrison, arrived at Boston on Sunday, the 21st instant, at 2 P. M. She brings Liverpool papers to the 4th instant.

We glean the following items of intelligence from various papers.

Parliament is further prorogued by proclamation from December 12 to February 4, then to assemble "for the despatch of business." On the 28th of November, Sir Henry Pottinger was sworn as a member of the Privy Council, and took his seat at the board.

The Princes Sophia Matilda, sister of the late Duke of Gloucester, and cousin of the King George IV. and William, and of Queen Victoria's father, died November 29, in the 72d year of her age.

The cotton market was in a very depressed state, there being a very general desire on the part of large holders to sell.

The election of Mr. Polk, as President of the United States, caused much surprise in England and elsewhere.

The late crop of potatoes in Ireland is found to exceed the produce of any year on record.

Thorwalden's statue of Byron, excluded from the sacred precincts of Westminster, is about to be erected in the cemetery of Kensal Green.

The total number of letters despatched through the Post-office, London, in 1838, was 75,000,000; in 1843, upwards of 230,000,000.

The Rev. Sydney Smith, who has been seriously ill for some time, is thought to be slowly recovering.

The reports that have for some time prevailed relative to a contemplated change of the Ministry have been contradicted from authority.

Expatriated Canadians.—The packet ship Switzerland, which sailed on Friday last for New-York, took out upwards of thirty persons concerned in the Canadian riots of four years past, who had been transported to New South Wales, they having, after undergoing a portion of their punishment, received an amnesty from the crown.

Accounts from St. Petersburgh speak of a commercial treaty, for which negotiations are on foot, between Russia and England. These negotiations are said to be in a very advanced state, so that the conclusion of the treaty may be shortly expected. There are only some differences on a few points, which, it is thought, will soon be adjusted.

The comparative merits of a canal and railway communication across the Isthmus of Suez are warmly canvassed by the French and English journals. The French are unanimous in favor of a ship canal; the English (or at least such of them as have taken up the subject) appear to be equally unanimous in favor of a railway. Which would be the best we cannot undertake to say without further information—we should think, however, the canal would be preferable, though if the sands are likely to cover the rails and obstruct the engines on a railway, they are just as likely to fill a canal and obstruct the navigation.

American Candles.—The late importation of American candles by the New-York packet-ship England, at Liverpool, said to be a novelty at that port, is not so at the port of London. For a considerable time past the London and New-York line of packet ships have been in the habit of bringing large quantities of American composition candles, which, on being landed, are immediately placed in bond for exportation. A merchant has informed us that several ships which lately sailed from the docks for India, China, and other ports, were supplied with this description of candles, and the importers, after paying freight, &c. realized a profit of 2½ per lb.

The American Consul in Liverpool.—The new American Consul, the Hon. Mr. White, was, on Friday week, presented to the Chamber of Commerce, at the Adelphi Hotel, and afterwards partook of a splendid luncheon with the gentlemen assembled.

IRELAND.

Mr. O'Connell has again taken the field in support of Repeal. He attended the regular weekly meetings of the Repeal Association at Dublin, and made an address to encourage his friends to persevere in "the one great paramount object." Liberal contributions were acknowledged from various parts of America. A Rev. Mr. Moriarty, from Philadelphia, was present at one of the meetings for the purpose of raising money for rebuilding the churches destroyed in that city during the riots between the Native Americans and the Roman Catholics. Mr. O'Connell bitterly assailed "the brutal and barbarous mob that got the authorities to disarm the Roman Catholics and then attacked them" Mr. Moriarty, on rising to address the meeting, was received with loud cheering, and he proceeded to speak at some length upon the subject of his mission. If his remarks are reported aright in the English Journals, they were exceedingly jesuitical and one-sided—bitter, malignant, vindictive and false.

Mr. O'Connell has also spoken at Limerick and other places. His appearance in public, after his sojourn at Derrynane, was welcomed everywhere with the utmost enthusiasm.

FRANCE.

The two Chambers are convoked for the 26th of December.

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* announces that the different sections of the opposition intended to take a more united and moderate course next session, and to avow themselves as much as M. Guizot in favor of the *entente cordiale* with England; a purpose which the *Revue* considers to threaten the Minister with a much more formidable antagonism than he has yet encountered.

SPAIN.

The whole country is disturbed. Martin Zurbano, the Guerilla chief, has placed himself at the head of an insurrectionary movement in Old Castile. He had been quietly living on his property, near Logrono, which is said to be worth £500 a year. But he heard lately that the Government meant to charge him with being an accomplice in some conspiracy, and determined to gain a start in the struggle with those who had resolved on his destruction.

PORTUGAL.

We have received letters from our Lisbon correspondent to the 27th November.

The Chamber of Peers, by a majority of eight, passed the bill declaring all the edicts of the Government, twenty-nine in number, promulgated during the propagation of the Cortes, and consequently without the sanction of the Legislature—laws in force from the date of their promulgation.

The twenty-nine "laws" were presented to the Chambers *en masse*, and all separate examination and discussion opposed successfully by Cabral.

The Dictator is now secure; at least from the Cortes, he has no more opposition to any measure to apprehend even to the recal of the gentleman at Rome, if such an event were likely to be beneficial to the Cabral ministry.

A dreadful fire, attended with the loss of twelve or fourteen lives, took place in Lisbon on the 21st of November.

The Municipal Elections throughout the country, with few exceptions, were carrying at the point of the bayonet in favor of Ministers.

SWEDEN.

The King of Sweden has approved of all the modifications by the States in the fundamental law. The principal modifications are:—Convocation of the diet every three years. The right of the King to give or to refuse his sanction to projects of law adopted by the States during the sitting of the diet. The suppression of all distinctions of nobility amongst the members of the supreme tribunal. The abolition of the right of suspending the publication of journals.

POLAND.

The cause of temperance societies has received a severe blow in the kingdom of Poland. They had been particularly successful in those parts of the kingdom which border on the republic of Cracow, and in Upper Silesia, where the country people, following the exhortation of the clergy, renounced in a body the use of brandy. But the government has lately interfered to check the temperance societies, and has published a circular prohibiting them, and forbidding the clergy to promote by addresses from the pulpit, an object which is so beneficial to the country people.

General Items.

A Game of Drafts playd between Baltimore and Washington City, by means of Morse's Magnetic Telegraph.—On Saturday last, for the purpose of making an experiment, and testing the accuracy of communications made by Morse's celebrated and wonderful Electro Magnetic Telegraph, a game of "Drafts" or Checkers was played through its mysterious agency, between the cities of Baltimore and Washington. This is the first game of the kind ever played in the United States, or probably in the world at so great a distance (40 miles) in so short a time—occupying not more than one hour from the commencement to the end. It is, in fact the first and only game ever attempted in this country, thus far by telegraphic despatch.

Vermont Asylum for the Insane.—By the Eighth Annual Report, which is just published, the institution appears to be in a prosperous condition. The buildings have been enlarged this season, furnishing greater accommodations, and improving the means of classification: 232 patients have enjoyed its advantages the past year, 74 have been discharged, and 158 now remain. Of those discharged, 51 have recovered. The terms are fixed at $2 per week, or $80 per year, if the patient remain so long in the institution. Patients from other States are received on the same terms as those from Vermont. *Asylum Journal.*

Slavery among the Old Schoolmen.—The Watchman of the Valley states that at a recent meeting of the old school Synod of Cincinnati, a Mr. Burch, from Kentucky, a slaveholder, who said before Synod, that he now had two slaves WHOM HE INTENDED TO SELL, was invited to sit as a corresponding member. The motion was vigorously opposed, but carried, sixty-one to seventeen; twelve non liquet. At night the Old School Presbytery of Cincinnati had a meeting, and received him as a member, though not without opposition. Mr. Fullerton next morning moved the Synod to declare the Presbytery irregular in receiving him. Synod then voted that Mr. Fullerton had made a "violent and unjustifiable attack" on the Presbytery and Rev. H. I. Burch.

A Two-Penny Strike.—The Philadelphia papers tell us that the news-boys have held a public meeting, and protested against the exaction of the Ledger publishers, in making them pay two cents each for extras.

The Chronicle gives a very spirited and droll account of the "mass meeting." The following are declared to be the resolutions passed:—

Resolved, That the news-boys is free news-boys, entitled to sell papers according to free trade, as cheap as they can be printed.

Resolved, That the news of Clay's election ought'nt to be kept from the people, and we are opposed to all tricks to keep it from them wot buys our papers.

Resolved, That we will open a room, and spend one night a week there, and smoke segars, and that we will lick any boy what drinks any liquor.

Resolved, That as the Ledger has violated the rights of man, in asking us poor boys with widowed mothers and desolated sisters to pay two cents for extras, we will whip any boy what sells its slips—and agree to tell every body the truth—which is, that all its slips are humbugs.

Negro Stealers.—The organization of a corps of negro-stealers from the Missouri line to the Lakes, demands that decided measures should be taken to break up the combination, and bring the offenders in Illinois to justice. The Constitution of the United States guaranties to the citizens of Missouri the protection of their property against depredations of this character; and if the Abolitionists in Illinois and Michigan are determined to trample upon their constitutional duties, the people of this State will be forced to protect their rights, by a resort to any means they can devise. If some dozen of these negro-stealers could be brought into this State, to keep company with the three now in our Penitentiary, a salutary effect might be produced on the other scoundrels. It is the duty of every law-abiding citizen in Illinois to aid in breaking up this gang of thieves, and bringing them to justice.—*St. Louis Rep.*

From the Morning Herald.

Died.

At the residence of her brother and sister, Joseph and Ruth Dugdale, Green Plain, Clarke county, Ohio, SABINA T. MCDONNELL, aged 50 years and 8 few days. She was a *consistent* member of the Society of Friends, being identified with those, proscribed by the *ruling influence* in Indiana Yearly Meeting, on account of their fidelity to the cause of the poor and the oppressed. Her disease was occasioned by the enlargement of an artery, which continued to increase until it absorbed the breast-bone and several of the ribs on the right side, inducing at times an amount of physical suffering, which cannot be readily conceived of, which she bore without a murmur, and with patience rarely equalled,—being, to use her own language, "*in all things joyfully resigned to the will of God.*" She possessed a benevolent heart, a strict sense of justice, and an enlightened understanding. She had for many years abstained, through conscientious motives, from the productions of *slave labor*, and continued to manifest a deep and *growing* interest in the reformatory efforts now agitating the world. As her frail frame was sinking under the influence of disease, her intellectual faculties seemed more bright than ever; many of her expressions were deep-toned, spiritual and searching to the understanding. A short time previous to her dissolution, when the aneurism ruptured, and the crimson current was flowing copiously, and all around her anticipated that a few moments more must close the scene, observing some perturbation in those around her, she took the vessel in her own hand, into which the life stream was flowing, and said, "be calm; let us be still; I crave this may be an instructive season to us all." She left a testimony (written by herself) of her faith in the principles she had advocated, by a *self-denying* life; which will be appended to this notice.

On the 16th of Tenth month, 1844, another rupture closed the scene, and her purified spirit, "being dressed for the flight and ready to be gone," quietly and sweetly passed away, without a struggle, to the rest prepared for the righteous. In compliance to her request, as a testimony against the *unnecessary* expence of burial, her remains, simply attired, were placed in "a plain unvarnished box of walnut," and next day, after a solemn season, were interred in Friends' grave yard at Green Plain.

"On reviewing the transactions of my life for a few years, *none* have brought *more solid, heartf

Poetry.

SCENE BETWEEN MAX PICCOLOMINI AND WALLENSTEIN.

COLERIDGE'S TRANSLATION.

Max.—Oh, God of Heaven! what a change is this!
Beseems it me to offer such persuasion
To thee, who like the bright star of the pole,
Wert all I gazed at, on life's trackless ocean?
O! what a rent thou makest in my heart!
The ingrained instinct of old reverence,
The holy habit of obedience,
Must I pluck live asunder from thy name?
Nay, do not turn thy countenance upon me—
It always was as a God looking at me!
Duke Wallenstein! its power is not departed:
The senses still are in thy bonds, although
Bleeding, the soul hath freed itself.

Wallenstein.—Max, hear me.

Max.—O! do it not, I pray thee do it not!
There is a pure and noble soul within thee,
Knows not of this unblest, unlucky doing.
——— Thou wilt not,
Thou canst not, end in this. It would reduce
All human creatures to disloyalty
Against the nobleness of their own nature.
'Twill justify the vulgar misbelief
Which holdeth nothing noble in free-will,
And trusts itself to impotence alone,
Made powerful only in an unknown power.

Wallenstein.—The world will judge me sternly, I expect it.
Already have I said to my own self
All thou canst say to me. Who but avoids
The extreme, can he by going round avoid it?
But here there is no choice. Yes—I must use
Or suffer violence—so stands the case;
There remains nothing possible but that.

Max.—O, that is never possible for thee!
'Tis the last desperate resource of those
Cheap souls, to whom their honor, their good name
Is their poor *saving*, their last worthless *keep*,
Which having staked and lost, they stake themselves
In the mad rage of gaming. Thou art rich
And glorious; with an unpolluted heart
Thou canst make conquest of whate'er seems highest!
But he who once hath acted infamy,
Doth nothing more in this world.

Wallenstein.—Calmly, Max!
Much that is great and excellent will we
Perform together yet. And if we only
Stand on the heighth with dignity, 'tis soon
Together, Max, by what road we ascended.
Believe me, many a crown shines spotless now,
That yet was deeply sullied in the winning.
To the evil spirit doth the earth belong,
Not to the good. All that the powers divine
Send from above, are universal blessings:
Their light rejoices us, their air refreshes,
But never yet was man enriched by them:
In their eternal realm no *property*
Is to be struggled for—all there is general.
The jewel, the all-valued gold, we win
From the deceiving powers, depraved in nature,
That dwell beneath the day and blessed sunlight.
Not without sacrifices are they rendered
Propitious, and there lives no soul on earth
That e'er retired unsullied from the service.

Max.—Whate'er is human, to the human being
Do I allow—and to the vehement
And striving spirit readily I pardon.
But not—not to the traitor—yes!—the word
Is spoken out:—thou canst not hear it named.
Oh, turn back to thy duty. That thou canst
I hold it certain.

Wallenstein.—It is too late. Even now, while thou art losing
Thy words, one after the other are the mill-stones
Left fast behind by my post couriers,
Who bear the order on to Prague and Egra.

L. E. L.'S LAST QUESTION.

BY E. B. BARRETT.

"Do you think of me as I think of you?"
FROM HER POEM WRITTEN DURING THE VOYAGE TO THE CAPE.

"Do you think of me as I think of you,
My friends, my friends?"—She said it from the sea,
The English minstrel in her minstrelsy;
While, under brighter skies than erst she knew,
Her heart grew dark,—and groped there, as the blind,
To reach, across the waves, friends left behind—
"Do you think of me as I think of you?"

It seemed not much to ask—As *I* of *you*?—
We all do ask the same. No eyelids cover
Within the meekest eyes, that question over,—
And little, in the world, the Loving do.
But sit (among the rocks?) and listen for
The echo of their own love evermore—
"Do you think of me as I think of you?"

Love-learned, she had sung of love and love,—
And, like a child, that, sleeping with dropt head
Upon the fairy-book he lately read,
Whatever household noises round him move,
Hears in his dream some elfin turbulence,—
Even so, suggestive to her inward sense,
All sounds of life assumed one tune of love.

And when the glory of her dream withdrew,—
When knightly gestes and courtly pageantries
Were broken in her visionary eyes,
By tears the solemn seas attested true,—
Forgetting that sweet lute beside her hand,
She asked not,—Do you praise me, O my land?—
But,—"Think ye of me, friends, as I of you?"

Hers was the hand that played for many a year,
Love's silver phrase for England,—smooth and well!
Would God, her heart's more inward oracle
In that lone moment, might confirm her dear!
For when her questioned friends in agony
Made passionate response,—"We think of *thee*,"—
Her place was in the dust, too deep to hear.

Could she not wait to catch their answering breath?
Was she content—content with ocean's sound,
Which dashed its mocking infinite around
One thirsty for a little love?—beneath
Those stars, content,—where last her song had gone,—
They, mute and cold in radiant life,—as soon
Their singer was to be, in darksome death?*

Biting your vain answers—cry, "We think of *thee*!"
How think ye of her? warm in long ago
Delights?—or crowned with budding bays? Not so.
None sing and none are crowned where lieth she,—
With all her visions unfulfilled, save one—
Her childhood's—of the palm-trees in the sun—
And lo! their shadow on her sepulchre!

Do you think of me as I think of you"
O friend! — kindred,— dear brotherhood
Of souls, which will! what are we, that we should
Fear evermore a cold or long affection due?
Will press so near each other, when the touch
Is barred by graves? Not much, and yet too much,
To ask "Think of me as I think of you."

But when from mortal lips I shape anew
A sign to mortal issues,—verily
Above the unshaken stars that see us die,
A vocal pathos rolls! and HE who drew
All life from dust, and for all, tasted death,
Breaks and hears life and love, appealing, saith,
"Do you think of me as *I think of you*?

* Her lyric on the polar star came home with her latest papers.

Miscellany.

From Hood's Magazine.

THE LAY OF THE LABORER.

It was a gloomy evening. The sun had set, angry and threatening, lighting up the horizon with lurid flame and flakes of blood-red—slowly quenched by slants of distant rain, dense and dark as segments of the old deluge. At last the whole sky was black, except the low driving gray scud, amidst which faint streaks of lightning wandered capriciously towards their appointed aim, like young fire-fiends playing on their errands.

"There will be a storm!" whispered nature herself, as the crisp-fallen leaves of autumn started up with a hollow rustle, and began dancing a wild round, with a whirlwind of dust, like some frantic orgy ushering in a revolution.

"There will be a storm!" I echoed, instinctively looking round for the nearest shelter, and making towards it at my best pace. At such times the proudest heads will bow to very low lintels; and setting dignity against a ducking, I very willingly condescended to stoop into "The Plough."

It was a small hedge alehouse, too humble for the refinement of a separate parlor. One large tap-room for all comers, gentle or simple, if gentlefolks, except from stress of weather, ever sought such a place of entertainment. Its scanty accommodations were even meaner than usual: the Plough had suffered from the hardness of the times, and exhibited the bareness of a house recently unfurnished by the broker. The aspect of the public room was cold and cheerless. There was a mere glimmer of fire in the grate, and a single unsnuffed candle stood guttering over the neck of the stone bottle in which it was stuck, in the middle of the plain deal table. The low ceiling, blackened by smoke, hung overhead like a canopy of gloomy clouds; the walls were stained with damp, and patches of the plaster had pealed off from the naked laths. Ornament there was none, except a solitary print, gaudily daubed in body-colors, and formerly glazed, as hinted by a small triangle of glass in one corner of the black frame. The subject, "the Shipwrecked Mariner," whose corpse, jacketed in bright sky-blue, rolled on a still brighter strip of yellow, between two grass-green wheat-sheaves with white ears—but intended for foaming billows. Above all, the customary odors were wanting; the faint smell of beer and ale, the strong scent of spirits, the fumes of tobacco; none of them agreeable to a nice sense, but decidedly missed with a feeling akin to disappointment. Rank or vapid, they belonged to the place, representing, though in an infinitely lower key, the bouquet of Burgundy, the aroma of choice liqueurs—the breath of social enjoyments.

Yet there was no lack of company. Ten or twelve men, some young, but the majority of the middle age, and one or two advanced in years, were seated at the sordid board. As many glasses and jugs of various patterns stood before them; but mostly empty, as was the tin tankard from which they had been replenished. Only a few of the party in the neighborhood of a brown earthenware pitcher had full cups; but of the very small ale called Adam's. Their coin and credit exhausted, they were keeping up the forms of drinking and good fellowship with plain water. From the same cause a bundle of new clay pipes lay idle on the table, unsoiled by the Indian weed.

A glance sufficed to show that the company were of the laboring class—men with tanned, furrowed faces, and hairy, freckled hands—who smelt "of the earth, earthy," and were clad in fustian and leather, in velveteen and corduroy, glossy with wear or wet, soiled by brown clay and green moss, scratched and torn by brambles, wrinkled, warped, and threadbare with age, and variously patched—garments for need and decency, not show;—for if, amidst the prevailing russetts, drabs, and olives, there was a gayer scrap of green, blue, or red, it was a tribute, not to vanity, but to expediency—some fragment of military broadcloth or livery plush.

As I entered, the whole party turned their eyes upon me, and having satisfied themselves by a brief scrutiny that my face and person were unknown to them, thenceforward took no more notice of me than their own shadows on the wall. I could have fancied myself invisible, they resumed their conversation with so little reserve. The topics, such as poor men discuss amongst themselves:—the dearness of bread, the shortness of work, the long hours of labor, the lowness of wages, the badness of the weather, the sickliness of the season, the signs of a hard winter, the general evils of want, poverty, and disease; but accompanied by such particular revelations, such minute details, and frank disclosures, as should only have come from persons talking in their sleep! The vulgar indelicacy, methought, with which they gossipped before me of family matters—the brutal callousness with which they exposed their private affairs, the whole history of bed, board, and hearth, the secrets of home! But a little more listening and reflection converted my disgust into pity and concern. Alas! I had forgotten that the lives of certain classes of our species have been laid almost as bare and open as those of the beasts of the field! The poor men had no domestic secrets—no private affairs! All were public—matters of notoriety—friend and foe concurring in the advertisement. The law had ferretted their huts, and scheduled their three-legged tables and bottomless chairs. Statistical Groses had taken notes and printed them, of every hole in their coats. Political reporters had calculated their incomings and outgoings down to fractions of pence and half ounces of tea; and had supplied the minutiæ of their domestic economy for paragraphs and leading articles. Charity, arm in arm with curiosity, and clerical philanthropy, linked perhaps with a religious inquisitor, had taken an inventory of their defects, moral and spiritual; whilst medical visitors had inspected and recorded their physical sores, cancerous or scrofulous, their humors, and their tumors.

Society, like a policeman, had turned upon them the full blaze of its bull's eye—exploring the shadiest recesses of their privacy, till their means, food, habits, and modes of existence were as minutely familiar, as those of the animaculæ exhibited in Regent street by the solar microscope. They had no longer any decent appearances to keep up—any shabby ones to mask with a better face—any petty shifts to slur over—any household struggles to conceal. Their circumstances were known intimately, not merely to next-door neighbors, and kith and kin, but to the whole parish, the whole county, the whole country. It was one of their last few privileges to discuss in common with the Parliament, the press, and the public, the deplorable details of their own affairs. Their destitution was a naked great fact, and they talked of it like proclaimed bankrupts, as they were, in the wide world's Gazette.

"What matters?" said a gray-headed old man, in fustian, in answer to a warning nudge and whisper from his neighbor. "If walls has ears they are welcome to what they can ketch—ay, and the stranger to boot—if so be he don't know all about us already—for it's all in print. What we yarn, and what we spend—what we eat, and what we drink—what we wear, and the cost of it, from top to toe—where we sleep, and how many on us lie in a bed—our concerns are as common as waste land."

"And as many geese and donkeys turned on to them, I do think!" cried a young fellow in velveteens—"to hear how folks cackle and bray about our states. And then the queer remedies as is prescribed, like, for a starving man! A Bible, says one—a reading made easy, says another—a temperance medal, says another—or may be a hagricultural prize. But what is he to eat, I ax? Why, says one, a Corkassian Jew—says another, a cricket-ball—says another, a may-pole—and says another, the Wenus bound for Horsetrailye."

"As if idle hands and empty pockets," said the grey-headed man, "did not make signs of themselves, for work and wages—and a hungry belly for bread and cheese."

"That's true, any how," said one of the water-drinkers. "I only wish a doctor could come at this minute, and listen with his *telescope* on my stomach, and he would hear it a-talking as plain as our magpie, and saying, I wants wittles."

There was a general peal of mirth at this speech, but brief and ending abruptly, as laughter does, when exorted by the odd treatment of a serious subject—a flash followed by deeper gloom. The conversation then assumed a graver tone; each man in turn recounting the trials, privations, and visitations, of himself, his wife, and children, or his neighbor's—not mentioned with fierceness, intermingling oaths and threats, nor with bitterness—some few allusions excepted to harsh overseers or miserly masters—but as soldiers or sailors describe the hardships and sufferings they have had to encounter in their rough vocation, and evidently endured in their own persons with a manly fortitude. If the speaker's voice faltered, or his eyes moistened, it was only when he painted the sharp bones showing through the skin, the skin through the rags, of the wife of his bosom; or how the traditional wolf, no longer to be kept from the door, had rushed in and fastened on his young ones. What a revelation it was! Fathers, with more children than shillings per week—mothers travailing literally in the straw—infants starving before the parents' eyes, with cold, and famishing for food! Human creatures, male and female, old and young, not gnawed and torn by single woes, but worried at once by winter, disease, and want, as by that triple-headed dog, whelped in the realms of torments!

My ears tingled, and my cheeks flushed with self-reproach, remembering my fretful impatience under my own afflictions, no light ones either, till compared with the heavy complications of anguish, moral and physical, experienced by these poor men. My heart swelled with indignation, my soul sickened with disgust, to recall the sobs, sighs, tears, and hysterics—the lamentations and imprecations bestowed by pampered selfishness on a sick bird or beast, a sore finger, a swelled toe, a lost rubber, a missing luxury, an ill-made garment, a culinary failure!—to think of the cold looks and harsh words cast by the same eyes and lips, eloquent in self-indulgence, on nakedness, starvation, and poverty. Wealth, with his own million of money, pointing to the new half-farthings as fitting money for the million—gluttony, gorged with dainties, washed down by iced champagne, complacently commending his humble brethren to the brook of Elisha and the salads of Nebuchadnezzer; and fashion, in furs and velvets, comfortably beholding her squalid sisters shivering in robes de zephyr, woven by winter itself, with the warp of a north, and the woof of an east wind!

"The job up at Bosely is finished," said one of the middle-aged men. "I have enjoyed but three days' work in the last fortnight, and God above knows when I shall get another, even at a shilling a day. And nine mouths to feed, big and little—and nine backs to clothe—with the winter a-settin in—and the rent behind-hand—and never a bed to lie on, and my good woman, poor soul, ready to ———" —a choking sound and a hasty gulp of water swallowed the rest of the sentence. "There must be something done for us—there MUST," he added, with an emphatic slap of his broad, brown, barky hand, that made the glasses jingle, and the idle pipes clatter on the board. And every voice in the room echoed, "there must," my own involuntarily swelling the chorus.

"Ay, there must, and that full soon," said the gray-headed man in fustian, with an upward appealing look, as if through the smoky clouds of the ceiling to God himself for confirmation of the necessity. "But come, lads, time's up, so let's have our chant, and then squander."

The company immediately stood up; and one of the elders, with a deep bass voice, and to a slow, sad air, began a rude song, the composition probably of some provincial poet of his own class, the rest of the party joining occasionally in a verse that served for the burden.

[For the verses see last Standard, on fourth page.]

As the last omnious word ceased ringing, the candle-wick suddenly dropped into the neck of the stone bottle, and all was darkness and silence.

* * * * * *

The vision is dispelled—the fiction is gone—but a fact and a figure remain.

Some time since, a strong inward impulse moved me to paint the destitution of an overtasked class of females, who work, work, work, for wages almost nominal. But deplorable as is their condition, in the low deep, there is, it seems, a lower still—below that gloomy gulf a darker region of human misery—beneath that purgatory a hell—resounding with more doleful wailings and a sharper outcry—the voice of famishing wretches, pleading vainly for work! work! work!—imploring as a blessing, what was laid upon man as a curse—the labor that wrings sweat from the brow, and bread from the soil!

As a matter of conscience, that wail touches me not. As my works testify, I am of the working class myself, and in my humble sphere furnish employment for many hands, including paper-makers, draughtsmen, engravers, compositors, pressmen, binders, folders, and stitchers—and critics—all receiving a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. My gains, consequently, are limited—not nearly so enormous as have been realized upon shirts, slops, shawls, &c.—curiously illustrating how a man or woman might be "clothed with curses as with a garment." My fortune may be expressed without a long row of those ciphers—those 0's, at once significant of hundreds of thousands of pounds, and of many ejaculations of pain and sorrow from dependent slaves. My wealth might all be hoarded, if I were miserly, in a gallipot, or a tin snuff-box. My guineas, placed edge to edge, instead of extending from the Minories to Golden Square, would barely reach from home to Bread Street. My riches would hardly allow me a roll in them, even if turned into the new copper mites. But then, thank God! no reproach clings to my coin. No tears of blood clog the meshes, no hair, plucked by desperation, is knitted with the silk of my lean purse. No consumptive sempstress can point at me her bony forefinger, and say, "For thee, *sewing in formâ pauperis*, I am become this living skeleton!" or hold up to me her fatal needle, as through the eye of which the scriptural camel must pass ere I may hope to enter heaven. No withered work-woman, shaking at me her dripping suicidal locks, can cry, in a piercing voice, "For thee, and for six poor pence, I embroidered eighty flowers on this veil"—literally a veil of tears. No famishing laborer, his joints racked with toil, holds out to me in the palm of his broad hard hand seven miserable shillings, and mutters, "For these, and a parish loaf, for six long days, from dawn till dusk, through hot and cold, through wet and dry, I tilled thy land!" My short sleep is peaceful; my dreams untroubled. No ghastly phantoms with reproachful faces, and silence more terrible than speech, haunt my quiet pillow. No victims of slow murder, ushered by the avenging fiends, beset my couch, and make awful appointments with me to meet at the Divine bar on the day of judgment. No deformed human creatures—men, women, children, smirched black as negroes, transfigured suddenly, as demons of the pit, clutch at my heels to drag me down, down, down, an unfathomable shaft, into a gaping Tartarus. And if, sometimes in waking visions, I see throngs of little faces, with features preternaturally sharp, and wrinkled brows, and dull, seared orbs—grouped with pitying clusters of the young-eyed cherubim—not for me, thank Heaven! did those crippled children become prematurely old; and precociously evaporate, like so much steam power, the "dew of their youth."

For me, then, that doleful cry from the starving unemployed has no extrinsic horror; no peculiar pang, beyond that sympathetic one which must affect the species in general. Nevertheless, amidst the dismal chorus, one complaining voice rings distinctly on my inward ear; one melancholy figure flits prominently before my mind's eye—vague of feature, indeed, and in form with only the common outlines of humanity—but the Eidolon of a real person, a living, breathing man, with a known name. One whom I have never seen in the flesh, never spoken with; yet whose very words a still small voice is, even now, whispering to me, I know not whence, like a voice from a cloud.

For months past, that indistinct figure, associated, as in a dream, with other dim images, but all mournful—stranger faces, male and female, convulsed with grief—huge hard hands, and smaller and tenderer ones, wrung in speechless anguish, and everlasting farewells—involved with obscure ocean waves, and momentary glimpses of outlandish scenery—for months past, amidst trials of my own, in the intervals of acute pain, perchance even in my delirium, and through the variegated tissue of my own interests and affairs, that sorrowful vision has recurred to me, more or less vividly, with the intense sense of suffering, cruelty, and injustice, and the strong emotions of pity and indignation, which originated with its birth.

It may be, that some peculiar condition of the body, inducing a morbid state of mind—some extreme excitability of the nerves, and, through them, of the moral sensibility, concurred to induce so deep an impression, to make so warm a sympathy attach itself to a mere phantom, the representation of an obscure individual, an utter stranger. The reader must judge: and when the case of my unknown, unconscious, invisible client, shall be laid before him, will be able to say, whether it required any unnatural sensitiveness of the system, any extraordinary softening of the heart or brain, to feel a strong human interest in the fate of Gifford White.

In the spring of the present year, this very unfortunate and very young man was indicted, at the Huntingdon assizes, for throwing the following letter, addressed, externally and internally, to the farmers of Bluntisham, Hunts, into a strawyard:—

"We are determined to set fire to the whole of this place, if you don't set us to work, and burn you in your beds, if there is not an alteration. What do you think he young men are to do, if you don't set them to work? They must do something. The fact is, we cannot go on any longer. We must commit robbery, and everything that is contrary to your wish. I am,

"AN ENEMY."

For this offense, admitted by his plea, the prisoner, aged eighteen, was sentenced, by a Judge, since deceased, to transportation for life!

Far be it from me to palliate incendiarism. Least of all, when so many conflagrations have recently illuminated the horizon; and so near the time when the memory of that arch incendiary, Guy Faux, will be revived by effigies and bonfires. I am fully aware of the risk of even this appeal, at such a season, but, with that pleading shade before me, dare the reddest reflections that may be cast on this paper.

Only catch a real incendiary, bring his guilt clearly home before him, and let him suffer the extreme penalty of the law. Hang him. Or, if absolutely opposed to capital punishment, and inclined towards the philanthropy of a very French philosophy, adopt the Christianly substitute, recommended in the "Mysteries of Paris," and blind the criminal. Let fire avenge fire, and, according to the prescription for Prince Arthur, with irons hot, burn out both his eyes. Cruel and extreme as such tortures may seem, they would scarcely expiate one of the most dastardly and atrocious of human crimes, inasmuch as the perpetrator can neither control its extent, nor calculate the results.

The truth is, my faith stops far short of the popular belief in the prevalence of wilful and malignant fire-raising—that an epidemic of that inflammatory character is so rife and raging as represented in the provinces. I am too jealous of the national character, too chary of the good name of my humble countrymen, and think too well of "a bold peasantry, our country's pride," to look on them, willingly, as a mere pack of Samson's foxes, running, from farm to farm, with firebrands tied to their tails. If there be any notable increase in the number of fires, some portion of the excess may be fairly attributable to causes which have converted simple risks into doubly hazardous: for example, the prevalence of cigar smoking, and especially, the substitution for the old tinder-box, of dangerous chemical contrivances, facile of ignition, and distributed by myriads throughout the country. Tailsmans, that, like the Arabian ones, on a slight rubbing, place a demon at the command of the possessor—spells which have subjected the fire spirit to the instant invocation not merely of the wicked, but of the weak and the witless, the infant and the idiot. Generally, we work and play with the element more profusely than formerly: witness the glowing flames, flakes, sparks, and cinders, that sweep across streets, over seas and rivers, and along railroads, from the chimneys, funnels, and furnaces, of the factories, and floating and flying conveyances of Pluto, Vulcan, and Company. Another cause, spontaneous combustion, has lately been convicted of the destruction of the railway station at New Cross; and there is no reason to suppose that conflagrations from carelessness, and excessive housewarmings from inebriety, are less common than of old. Children will still play with fire; servants, town and country, persist in snuffing long wicks, as well as noses, with finger and thumb; and agricultural distress has not so annihilated the breed of jolly farmers, but that one, here and there, is still capable of blowing himself out, and putting his candle to bed.

In the mean time, vulgar exaggeration ascribes every "rapid consumption" of property, not clearly traceable to accident, to a malicious design. The English public, according to Goldsmith, are prone to panics, and he instances them as arming themselves with thick gloves and stout cudgels against certain popular bugbears in the shape of mad dogs. And a fatal thing it is, proverbially, for the canine race, to get an ill name. But a panic becomes a far more tragical affair, when it arms one class of society against another; and, instead of mere brutes and curs of low degree, animals of our own species are hunted down and hung, or, at best, all but banished to another world, by transportation for life. It is difficult to believe that some such local panic did not influence the very severe sentence passed on Gifford White. Indeed the existence of something of the kind seems intimated by the Judge himself, along with the extraordinary dictum that a verbal burn is worse than the actual cautery. Lord Abinger said:—

"The offence was of a most atrocious character; and it might almost be said, that the sending of letters threatening to burn the property of the parties to whom they were addressed was worse than putting the threat into execution; for when a man lost his property by fire, he at least knew the worst of it, but he to whom such threats were made, was made to live in a state of continual terror and alarm."

Very true—and very harshly applied. The farmers of Bluntisham are not of my acquaintance: but presuming them not to be more nervous and timorsome than farmers in general, might not their terror and alarm have been pacified on rather easier terms? Would not the banishment of the culprit for seven, or at most fourteen years, have allowed time, ample time, for the yeomanly nerves to have recovered their tone; for their affrighted hair, erect as stubble, to have subsided prone as rolled grass; nay, for the very name of Gifford White to have evaporated from their agricultural heads? Were I a Bluntisham farmer, I could not eat with relish another rasher of bacon, or swallow with satisfaction another glass of strong ale, without protesting publicly against such a sacrifice to my supposed aspen-fits, and setting on foot a petition among my neighbors for a mitigation of that severe and satirical sentence which condemned a fellow parishioner to expiate my fears by fifty-two years of penance—according to the scriptural calculation of human life—in the land of the kangaroo. I could not sleep soundly, and know, that for my sake a son of the same soil had been rooted out like a common weed—severed from kith and kin; from hearth and home, if he had one; from his mother-country, hard step-mother though she had proved; from a familiar land and native air, to a foreign one and a new climate, with strange faces around him, and strange stars above him.—a banished man, not for a little while, or for a long while, but forever!

But, methinks I hear a voice say, it was necessary to make an example—a proceeding always accompanied by a certain degree of hardship, if not injustice, as regards the party selected to be punished *in terrorem*; unless the choice be made of a criminal especially deserving of such a painful preference—as for robbery with personal violence: wherein there appear to be no aggravations of the offence for which Gifford White was sentenced to a murderer's atonement. On the contrary, he pleaded guilty; a course generally admitted as an extenuation of guilt: his youth ought to have been a circumstance in his favor; and, above all, the consideration that a threat does not necessarily involve the intent, much less the deed. All who have been led, by word or writing, to hope or fear, for good or evil, have had reason to know how far is promise from performance,—as far as England from New South Wales. Expectants never die the sooner for golden prospects held out to them; and threatened folks are long-lived, to a proverb. And why? Because the enemy who announces his designs is the least dangerous; as the Scotch say, "his bark is waur than his bite." The truth is, menaces are about the most abundant, idle, and empty of human vaporings; the mere puffings, blowings, gruntings, and growlings from the safety-valves and waste-pipes of high-pressure engines. The promissory notes of threateners to large amounts are ludicrously associated, instead of payment, with "no effects." Who of us has not heard a good mother, a fond mother, a doting mother, but sharp-tempered, promise her own dear but troublesome offspring, her very pets, such savage inflictions, such breaking of bones, and knocking off plaguy little heads, as ought, sincerely uttered, to have consigned her to the custody of the police? There, as my Uncle Toby says, she found vent. Who has never known a friend, a worthy man, but a passionate one, to indulge in such murderous threats against the life, body, and limbs of a tight boot-maker, or a loose tailor; a blunt creditor, or a sharp critic; as ought, if in earnest, to have placed him in hand-cuffs and a strait-waistcoat? But nobody mistakes these blazes of temper for the burnings of settled malignity—these harmless flashes of sheet-lightning for the destructive gleam of the forked. It is quite possible, therefore, that the incendiary letter of Gifford White, though breathing Congreves and Lucifers, was purely theoretical; albeit read by the judge as if in serious earnest, like the fulminating prospectuses of the Duc de Normandie or Captain Warner.

I confess to have searched, in vain, through the epistle for any animus of peculiar atrocity. Its address, generally to the farmers, shows it not to have been the inspiration of personal malice or private revenge. The threat is not a direct and positive one, as in resolved retaliation for some by-gone wrong; but put hypothetically, and rather in the nature of a warning of probable consequences, dependent on future contingencies. The wish of the writer is obviously not father to the menace; on the contrary, he expostulates, and appeals, methinks most touchingly, to the reason, the justice, even the compassion, of the very parties—to be burnt in their beds. So clear a proof, to me, of the absence of any serious intent, or malice prepense, that the only agitation from the fall of such a missive in my farmyard if I had one, would be the flutter amongst the poultry. At least theirs would be the only personal terror and alarm,—for, with other feelings, who could fail to be moved by a momentous question and declaration re-echoed by hundreds and thousands of able and willing but, starving laborers. "What are we to do if you don't set us to work? We must do something. The fact is, we cannot go on any longer!"

Can the wholesale emigration, so often proposed, be only transportation in disguise, for using such language in common with Gifford White?

To me—speaking from my heart, and recording my deliberate opinions on a material that, frail as it is, will long out last my own fabric,—there is something deeply affecting in the spectacle of a young man, in the prime of health and vigor, offering himself, a voluntary slave, in the labor-market without a purchaser—eagerly proffering to barter the use of his body, the day-long exertion of his strength, the wear and tear of his flesh and blood, bone and muscle for the common necessaries of life—earnestly craving for bread on the penal conditions prescribed by his Creator—and in vain—in vain! Well for those who enjoy each blessing of earth that there are volunteers to work out the curse! Well for the drones of the social hive that there are bees of so industrious a turn, willing for an infinitesimal share of the honey to undertake the labor of its fabrication!

Let these considerations avail an unfortunate man, or rather youth, perhaps an oppressed one, subject to the tyranny of some such ticket system as lately required the interference of the home secretary, in behalf of the laborers of another county.———

Methinks I see him, poor phantom! an impertinent unit of surplus population, humbly pleading for bread, and offered an acre of stones—to be cleared at five farthings a rood. Work and wages for the asking! with the double alternative of the Union-house, or a free passage—the Northwest one—to the still undiscovered coast of Bohemia!———

Is a rash youth, so wrought on, to be eternally Ex-Isled from this sweet little one of our own, for only throwing a few intemperate "thoughts that breathe and words that burn" into an anonymous letter?

Let these things plead for a fellow-creature, goaded, perhaps, by the sense of wrong, as well as the physical pangs of hunger, and driven by the neglect of all milder applications to appeal to the selfish fears of men who will neither read the signs of the times, nor heed warnings, unless written, like Belshazzar's, in letters of fire!

One thing is certain. These are not times for visiting with severity the offences of the laboring poor; a class who, it is admitted by all parties, have borne the severest trials that can afflict the soul and body of man, with an exemplary fortitude, and a patience almost superhuman. A great fact at which every true Englishman should exult, as at a national victory, as, in moral heroism it is. I, for one, am proud of my poor countrymen, and naturally loth to believe that a character which so reluctantly combines with disaffection, and indulges so sparely in outbreak, will freely absorb so vile a spirit as that of incendiarism. At any rate, before rashly adopting such a conclusion, common justice and common sense bid me look elsewhere for the cause of any unusual number of fires in the rural districts. As a mere matter of patriotism, one would rather ascribe such unfilial outrages to an alien than to a son of the soil. We have lately seen a foreign prince, nally, in a time of peace, speculating with much playful naïveté on the best modes for squibbing our shipping and rocketing our harbors—the facility with which he could ignite the Thames and mull the Medway—sink the Cinque Ports—blow off Beachy's head, shiver Deal into splinters, and knock the two Reculver steeples into one. His highness, it is true, contemplated a bellicose state, ceremoniously proclaimed according to the usage of polite nations: but suppose some outlandish savage, as uncivilized as unshorn, say from Terra del Fuego, animated with an insane hostility to England, and burning to test his skill in Pyrotechnics—might not such a barbarian be tempted to dispense with a formal declaration of war, and make a few experimental essays how to introduce his treacherous combustibles into our perfidious towns and hamlets? Foreign incendiaries for me, rather than native; and accident or spontaneous combustion before either! But if we must believe in it home-made—surely, in preference to the industrious laborer, suspicion should fall on those sturdy trampers that infest the country, the foremost to crave for food and money, the last to ask for work, and one of whom might light up a dozen parishes. If it be otherwise, if a class eminently loyal, patient, peaceable, and rational, have really become such madmen throwing about fire, it is high time, methinks, with universal Artesian borings, to begin to scuttle our island for fear of its being burnt. But no—that Shadow of an Incendiary, with uplifted hands, and streaming repentant eyes, disavows with earnest gesture the foul intent; and shadow as he is, my belief acquits him, and makes me echo the imaginary sigh with which he fades again into the foggy distance between me and Port Sydney.

It is in your power, Sir James Graham! to lay the ghost that is haunting me. But that is a trifle. By a due intercession with the earthly fountain of mercy, you may convert a melancholy shadow into a happier reality—a righted man—a much pleasanter image to mingle in our waking visions, as well as in those dreams which, as Hamlet conjectures, may soothe or disturb us in our coffins. Think, Sir, of poor Gifford White—inquire into his hard case, and give it your humane consideration, as that of a fellow-man with an immortal soul—a "possible angel"—to be met hereafter face to face.

To me, should this appeal meet with any success, it will be one of the dearest deeds of my pen. I shall not repent a wide deviation from my usual course; or begrudge the pain and trouble caused me by the providential visitings of an importunate phantom. In any case, my own responsibility is at an end. I have relieved my heart, appeased my conscience, and absolved my soul.

THOMAS HOOD.

From the London Spectator.

WASHING FOR THE MILLION.

During the last few days a movement towards a very obvious yet long-neglected duty is understood to have been effectively commenced. The lower classes of London have hitherto been familiarly known by the generic title of the "great unwashed,"—a phrase pleasantly indicative of ingrained filthiness; and one which, when used reproachfully, as it usually is, by conservative orators, would seem to imply the failure of unwearied exertions to induce more creditable habits. A remedy is called for; and as its accomplishment requires no co-operate or legislative sanction, this measure of justice to the people may happily be carried out without exposure of the obstacles which the people's representative would, it is probable, characteristically interpose. The hearty aid of a large number of the leading city men has been secured; and this, if backed by a judicious co-operation from those for whom they strive, will be sufficient to insure success. The establishment of baths, coupled with the wash-houses for clothes, as proposed in London, has already stood the test of experiment in Liverpool. It is contemplated to begin with four foundations; three on the Middlesex, and one on the Surrey side of the river, at the total expense of £30,000. The annual charge hereafter to be met by the payments of those who use them; a penny for a cold, and twopence for a warm bath, (the use of towel inclusive,) being the rates for the bathers, while at the wash-houses, all appliances and means for six hours' scrubbing, drying, and ironing, are to be supplied for twopence. With the aid of an income to be derived from a few baths of a more expensive kind, the institutions are thus expected shortly to compass their own support. It cannot be doubted that the £30,000 will speedily be raised. A sum not more than equivalent to what at any time can be collected with ease to arrest unmeaning columns to the dead, will surely not be denied to atone for the long neglect of an imperative duty to living men, to redeem our people from the disgrace of attending only to the outward show of cleanliness, and to prevent, instead of waiting for the more expensive necessity of curing, the long train of diseases which impurity engenders. To gain the co-operation of the classes personally interested, a few popular addresses, such as those by which Mr. Simpson has recently stirred up the working-men of Edinburgh, together with the distribution of pamphlets quoting the remarks of Dr. Andrew Combe and other physiologists, could advantageously be adopted. The widest impression, however, might be produced both on rich and poor, if the clergy of the metropolis, without regard to denomination, would for one day devote their pulpits to the cause. It presents a theme for their highest efforts. Purity of mind cannot exist with impurity of person; and the feeling of worship is utterly inconsistent with the habits of those who, while they would shrink from entering the presence of a great man without a previous washing of face and hands, and the outward assumption of cleanliness, are unabashed to remain, day by day, negligent and filthy under the eye of their Creator.

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